LOUIS E. BURNHAM OF THE GUARDIAN STAFF IS DEAD AT 44 . . . See p. 3

NATIONAL
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THE LONDON 'FOOTHILLS CONFERENCE'

Wide E-W accord on disarmament at 16-nation session

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

THE BROADEST agreement yet on urgent concrete problems of world disarmament has emerged from a "Foothills Conference" at the House of Commons, over the signatures of participants from eight Western and eight Eastern nations including members of both the U.S. and Soviet legislatures.

The unofficial three-day talks were an attempt by parliamentarians and other public figures to dissipate some of the fog hanging around the Summit. Discussions were private, but participants met the press each evening in the grand committee room of the House of Commons to report and answer questions.

U.S. participants quoted President Eisenhower's expression of hope last fall that "the people will do more to promote peace than our governments," and said: "We're trying to help do that." British MP Sydney Silverman said the public everywhere was "far ahead of their governments," and ex-minister Philip Noel-Baker, 1959 Nobel Peace Prize winner, urged the press to "ensure that the people know what is happening," since "if our present arms were ever used, mankind would perish."

Supreme Soviet members Ilya Ehren-

(Continued on Page 4)

Blackout

AT THE FOOTHILLS Conference, Philip Noel-Baker urged the press to "ensure that the people know what is happening." The responsibility of the American press is demonstrated by the fact that hardly a line about the conference appeared, to our knowledge, in any large U.S. newspaper—although the Associated Press covered every evening news conference and undoubtedly sent out a story daily.

In Britain, the coverage was small, but the Manchester **Guardian** did a responsible job. Provincial papers carried fuller stories than the big London dailies. Attendance at the press conferences ranged from 30 to 50 reporters (on the last evening).

The blackout in the American press is as typical as it is disgraceful. Perhaps the fact that there was general agreement between East and West was a factor; if there had been dissension there is little doubt the conference would have made page one in the U.S.

THE GOOD SPIRITS ARE ONLY PAPIER-MACHE—BUT THEY COULD BE REAL IN MAY

In the Italian town of Viareggio, these jolly figures of President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev were created for a float called "Ease of Tension" in the town's annual carnival. Let's hope the carnival spirit lasts through the Summit meeting in Paris in May.

PENTAGON-AEC CREATE NEW BARRIER FOR TEST BAN

Horrified world protests Sahara bomb blast

A MUSHROOM-SHAPED cloud once again defaced the sky, after more than a year's absence, and menaced a large area of North Africa with radioactive fallout: France exploded its first atom bomb on Feb. 13 at Reggan, in the Tanenzrouft region of the Sahara. The French action, unwelcome as it was, did not have much effect on the current Geneva test ban conference. But the Pentagon-AEC (Atomic Energy Commission) shenanigans in Washington against a nuclear test suspension agreement did have an effect.

With a single-mindedness worthy of a better cause, President de Gaulle carried out the atom bomb test despite worldwide protest. Last fall the UN overwhelmingly deplored the test. Many NATO allies of France, including Britain and the U.S., were either opposed or dubious; only West Germany supported France. Countries in the neighborhood of the test area—Tunisia, Morocco and Ghana, as well as the Algerian liberation front—were outspokenly hostile.

FRESH WATER SEA: Scientists noted that the area chosen for the explosion was not as desolate ("largely unpopulated," the New York **Times** called it) as French officials described it. They said there were inhabited areas nearby and the region could bloom again if the great fresh water sea under the Sahara were tapped. Geologists like Marcel Gautier and Georges Drouhin, once derided for insisting on the existence of the fresh water sea, have recently been proved right.

Ritchie Calder reported in the London **New Statesman** (Dec. 26, '59) that, while

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REPORT TO READERS

Who's doing the dirty work on Powell?

IF ALL GOES WELL in 1960, the next Congress will have at the head of the ultra-important House Committee on Labor and Education the Negro Representative from New York's Harlem, the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell.

This prospect does not sit at all well with the Southern bloc in Congress, not because Rep. Powell would be the first Negro to head a Congressional Committee—Rep. William Dawson of Illinois had headed the House Committee on Government Operations in recent years—but because the House Labor & Education Committee controls all legislation dealing with Federal aid to education, anathema to the South because of the well-founded fear that such aid will finally force school integration.

Rep. Powell is slated to head the Committee under the House seniority rules which concede committee chairmanships to the members of the party in power who have served longest with each committee. The present chairman, Rep. Graham Barden of North Carolina, an extreme conservative, has announced that he will not run for office this year.

The South controls most committee chairmanships when the Democrats are in power because of its one-party tradition, which elects Democrats virtually for life or until voluntary retirement. At present Deep Southerners (not including border state members of Congress) hold the chairmanships of ten of the Senate's 16 standing committees and 13 of the House's 20—a "sectional imbalance" which the Washington **Post** calls "good neither for the Democratic Party nor for the country."

Most certainly the South will not move to abandon the seniority rule to bypass Powell, for this would mean saying goodbye forever to its minority control of Congress. Nor is there any chance that Powell can now be deprived of the Democratic nomination in his district, or defeated in an election even if his own party gangs up on him, as it did in 1958.

(Continued on Page 2)

THE MAIL BAG

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

LONDON, Jan. 17—(Reuters)—Randolph Churchill, outspoken son of Sir Winston Churchill, said tonight he will switch to drinking South African sherry instead of Spanish for a month in opposition to the proposed boycott of South African goods by the British Labor Party.

The Labor Party move is a protest against the South African policy of racial segregation.

—The Washington **Post**, Jan. 18

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: S. S., Manhattan, N.Y.

The new Nazism

MELBOURNE, FLA.

Appreciate your excellent reporting of anti-Semitism in West Germany. It seems to me that there are other causes besides the old-time Nazis coming back into power.

Organized religion is one culprit; on the one hand they mouth love, brotherhood, and morals, while on the other they breed jealousy, competition, and hatred for any fellow man who believes in a different set of gods, devils, angels, miracles, et al.

There are 170,000 different species of animals on this earth, and Man is the only one that needs churches, temples, synagogues, mosques, etc. So, let's do away with them all; they are only parasites to humanity.

David Stry

●

NEW YORK, N.Y.

A friend from West Germany wrote me a new joke which I didn't find funny:

"There is only one essential difference between Adenauer and Hitler: Adenauer's first name is Konrad and not Adolf."

Jean Degas

We stand contradicted

VAN NUYS, CALIF.

I have been excoriating friends who buy and "talk" Volkswagen, who admire and scrimp to buy Mercedes 190's, who indiscriminately plunge into the purchase of expensive German cameras and optics—all without thought of what this implicit support to a Nazi-oriented economy and Nazi-coddling political hegemony means in terms of hate and venom and possibly World War III.

Then I pick up my GUARDIAN for January 25, and after being enraged by the news on pages 4 and 5 I am encouraged on page 12 to buy Guardian Buying Service products which are made in whole or in part in Nazi-minded West Germany.

Is there a flagrant contradiction here somewhere?

Les Goldman

The Killian case

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Last month the Federal Court of Appeals for the second time upheld the conviction and five-year sentence of Jack Killian on a charge of allegedly violating the non-communist oath provision of the Taft-Hartley law in 1952. You will remember that there have been two trials and as a result of a vigorous appeal following the first trial there was a reversal of the first conviction by the Court of Appeals.

The Killian family—Jack, Gloria and five-year-old Sean—have been living with this case since 1955. The boy's memory does not go back to a time when the threat of jail did not hang over the life of the family. All the more tragic since the very law under which Jack was convicted was repealed by Congress last year. Thus Jack faces a five-year prison term for violation of a law which Congress has decided is unnecessary or undesirable.

We write however, not primarily because of the personal tragedy which a persecution for over four years represents to the Killian family.

We feel that issues of vital general concern are raised by this case which richly deserve a hearing before the Supreme Court. Among them are:

- The restrictive interpretation by the trial court of the Jencks decision as a result of which the defense was deprived of the right to inspect certain statements of government witnesses and offered only the unsupported word of prosecution attorneys as to the contents of these statements.
- The almost total reliance of the government on paid informer testimony — historically one of the most unreliable and odious sources of "evidence."

The task of bringing these issues to the attention of the Supreme Court—which is now Killian's last hope—is enormously costly. You will understand that the Killians' financial resources have been drained by the costs of two trials and two appeals.

If funds are not raised to allow defense counsel to petition immediately for a hearing before the Supreme Court, Killian will start serving a five-year term in Federal prison without having had the opportunity to present any of these issues to that Court.

Your contributions are the Killians' last hope.

Killian Defense Fund
1233 South 17th St.
Milwaukee 4, Wisc.

The other side

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

The first issues of the GUARDIAN were sent to me by a friend to acquaint me with the paper and now I don't feel that I could do without it. It certainly does present the other side that we do not get in our daily papers.

Elenita Lindi

Farmers ask concurrence

WALLKILL, N.Y.

Here is a letter we have sent to our Senators and Representatives in Congress:

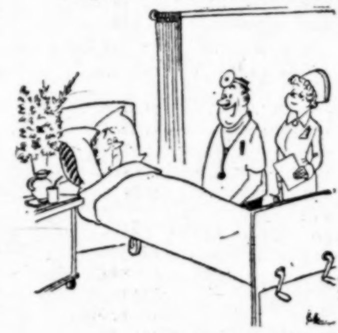
"Re Senate 1711, House Res. 6526, 6530, 6611, 6637, 6655, 6681, 6749, 7202, 7353: To promote the foreign policy of the U.S. and help to build essential world conditions of peace, by the more effective use of U.S. agricultural commodities for the relief of human hunger, and for promoting economic and social development in less developed countries:

"The executive committee of the Farmer's Union of Ulster County recently assembled, has given serious thought to the above proposed legislation and after discussion unanimously decided that we give it most emphatic endorsement.

"As an agricultural organization within your Congressional District, we not only urge upon you, but expect of you, in no uncertain terms, to emphatically endorse the aforementioned bill. To us, who are agricultural producers in your district, this is a matter of serious concern. But even beyond this, it is a matter of human welfare and a program towards peace and prosperity to which no legislator as yourself, can be oblivious."

We urge others to endorse this proposed legislation.

Angelo De Lewis, President



Wall Street Journal

"Don't worry, we'll have you up and out of here before your Blue Cross runs out."

Missed opportunity

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The New York City Superintendent of Schools has decided to close the public schools on certain major Jewish holidays.

He is quoted as having declared, in explanation, that this action was "solely an administrative precaution"; that it was "prompted by administrative problems caused by extensive absences among pupils and teachers; that the "safety hazard and administrative problems posed by the present schedule make the change necessary."

I should like to ask if it is too much to expect an American public official, notably an educational administrator, to indulge in straightforward, impartial, enlightening, and elevating communication with the people.

Here was an opportunity for the school head of the wealthiest city in the world, a municipality most richly endowed with earthly goods, to pay a tribute to our governmental policy of impartiality in matters of religion and to make a gracious gesture whereby the creed of the majority of our citizens would salute the creed out of which the dominant religion sprang.

Does our political climate make this plain and simple act unthinkable?

For a number of years the City College has been following the practice to be put into operation in the schools and we have been very modest and frank about it.

Prof. Ephraim Cross

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE H-BOMB APPEARS on the public horizon as a probably attainable goal. Its accelerated development has been solemnly proclaimed by the President.

If successful, radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere and hence annihilation of any life on earth has been brought within the range of technical possibilities. The ghostlike character of this development lies in its apparently compulsory trend. Every step appears as the unavoidable consequence of the preceding one. In the end, there beckons more and more clearly general annihilation.

Is there any way out of this impasse created by man himself? All of us, and particularly those who are responsible for the attitude of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., should realize that we may have vanquished an external enemy, but have been incapable of getting rid of the mentality created by the war.

It is impossible to achieve peace as long as every single action is taken with a possible future conflict in view. The leading point of view of all political action should therefore be: What can we do to bring about a peaceful coexistence and even loyal cooperation of the nations?

—From a Lincoln's Birthday address by the late Dr. Albert Einstein as reported in the National Guardian, Feb. 22, 1950

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REPORT TO READERS

The job on Powell

(*Continued from Page 1*)

The result of that gang-up attempt was that Powell not only won, but kicked Tammany Hall out of Harlem and installed his own Democratic Party machinery. There is no opposition of any consequence to Rep. Powell in his own district.

BUT EVEN SO, Rep. Powell is not a sure thing to head up Labor & Education if the Democrats win the House in November. A Federal indictment has been hanging over his head since May, 1958, growing out of continued harassment of the Congressman for alleged Federal income tax irregularities. Trial is scheduled to start March. 7.

It is strictly a chicken-feed case. In addition to two nebulous counts charging him with preparing a false return for his wife, pianist Hazel Scott, in 1951, Powell himself allegedly owes $1,663 in taxes for 1952.

THE POWELL TAX CASE has had an interesting history. It started in 1954 after a disgruntled former campaign manager charged tax irregularities in Powell's Congressional office. Two secretaries were indicted. Defense counsel asserted the proceedings were aimed at making the two aides testify against Powell for allegedly accepting salary kickbacks. In 1956 both were convicted for filing false returns. One served a few months in 1956 and was freed. The other was jailed for a year and a day in November, 1957.

In 1957, Tammany boss Carmine DeSapio set out to dump Powell politically. Perhaps by coincidence, the violently conservative magazine **National Review** began to campaign for a reopening of the Powell tax investigation.

Under these circumstances, the inquiry was reopened. Powell was indicted in early 1958, and the Tammany machine promptly moved to deny him renomination. Negro newspapers reported a $200,000 Dixiecrat kitty being raised to help defeat him should he run as an insurgent.

In the 1958 election, Powell demolished his Tammany opponent and proceeded to replace Tammany leadership in his district.

LATE IN JANUARY, Rep. Barden announced that he would not seek reelection in 1960. He has been in Congress for 13 terms, and has been Labor & Education chairman since 1950.

A curious chorus immediately viewed Powell's succession with alarm. On Jan. 26 the N.Y. **Times** deplored the prospect editorially and Eleanor Roosevelt in her N.Y. **Post** column said Powell "would not be the happiest choice."

The **Times** said "many liberals who share Mr. Powell's views on integration nevertheless believe that the combination of his notably racist attitudes, his miserable record as a legislator and his extreme absenteeism all tend to disqualify him."

A LETTER FROM A READER, John Young III, set the **Times** straight on its three points. A racist, the correspondent explained, "is one who believes in racial superiority, not racial equality."

As for the "miserable" legislative record: "In his 16 years in Congress, Mr. Powell has done exactly as his constituents in Harlem have wanted him to do: continue to introduce all forms of civil rights legislation whether the Congress passed it or not. It would be far more accurate to say of Mr. Powell that a good legislator has been operating in a poor Congress."

On absenteeism: "The workload carried by Mr. Powell . . . would stagger the most hearty individual. In Congress he is the representative for practically the whole of the Negro population of the U.S."

George Meany put his oar in on Feb. 8 at Bal Harbor, Fla., where the AFL-CIO executive council held its mid-winter meeting. Meany said he felt "terrible, just terrible, to think that we'll have a man like that as chairman of the House Labor Committee." Meany's remark was almost certain to reopen the wounds made by his attack at last year's AFL-CIO convention on veteran Negro rail union leader A. Philip Randolph. Randolph immediately took Meany up, noting that Powell "has a good record in voting on labor and civil rights."

THE FEDERAL JUDGE who set Powell's trial date for March 7 on the tax charges on Dec. 31, said at the time that in his opinion there was no question of a conviction in the case.

There is little question, either, that if Powell is convicted and jailed, and so prevented from taking his earned position as chairman of the Congressional Committee most concerned with the hopes of the Negro people in America, it will be a prima facie case of the Feds doing the Dixiecrats' dirty work.

—THE GUARDIAN

Louis Burnham: A tragedy for freedom's cause

By James Aronson
for the Guardian staff

LOUIS E. Burnham, an associate editor of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN since January, 1958, died on Friday night, Feb. 12, apparently of a heart attack. He was 44 years old. His death is an almost irreparable loss to this newspaper, to the struggle of the Negro people for equality and to the progressive movement of America.

Burnham was taken ill during a lecture he was giving for Negro History Week before the Intercultural Society in New York. He was rushed to the Polyclinic Hospital, a few blocks away, but died within an hour after he was taken to the emergency room. Several members of the GUARDIAN staff reached the hospital minutes after his death, as did his wife, Dorothy, a bacteriologist at the Hospital for Joint Diseases. He leaves also four children: Claudia, 16, Margaret, 15, Linda, 12, and Charles, 9; his mother, Mrs. Louise Burnham, and a brother, Charles. The family lives at 171 Maple St., Brooklyn, N.Y.

Services were held at St. Ambrose Episcopal Church, 9 W. 130th St., New York, on Tuesday evening, Feb. 16. A memorial meeting is being planned.

THE BARE BONES of an obituary notice, written with a total sense of sadness, can hardly begin to give the measure of Lou Burnham; but those who knew him in the 25 years of his participation and leadership in the fight of America's Negroes for equality, will clothe the facts with their memory of Burnham's warm and vibrant personality.

A graduate of the City College of New York, Burnham became Southern organizer of the American Student Union in 1936. In 1941 he took the job of organizational secretary of the Southern Negro Youth Conference and later became its executive secretary, a post he held until the Conference disbanded in 1948. That year he became Southern organizer of the Progressive Party, during the campaign of Henry A. Wallace for the Presidency, and remained in this job until 1951.

Burnham then was named editor of the monthly **Freedom**, published by Paul Robeson. For seven years, in the face of almost impossible odds, he turned out a hard-hitting and always enlightening publication. But by 1957 the obstacles to independent publication became too much and **Freedom** was forced to suspend. After a year as an editor with a publishing house, Burnham joined the GUARDIAN staff.

LOUIS E. BURNHAM
"Come, brothers, let us hold hands and walk together . . ."

LOUIS BURNHAM was a man touched with grace. He had an ease of manner and movement, a love and sympathy for people which are all too uncommon. As you sat with him and spoke with him, you were aware of a concern in his luminous eyes, of the attention in his handsome Egyptian-like face, which are the mark of a man who can listen with his whole person. He had a habit, when you spoke with him, of repeating your last word, when you paused, and smiling his understanding.

He was a man of the deepest seriousness and therefore of the deepest humor. He loved fun. At the end of a day's work, at lunch after the weekly deadline, it was always Lou Burnham who had a burst of song in his fine bass voice, a joke to be told—often with a wry twist—sometimes in a Southern dialect which reduced a Senator Claghorn to a ridiculous nothing.

When he worked he was all work—concentrated, thoughtful, painstaking. He grappled with every word, he stopped at a sentence with a frown. He'd be at it for a long time, and then when you passed his typewriter with a "How's it coming?", he would look up with that wonderful smile and say: "I think it's rolling now."

AND IT DID ROLL. Because he felt every line. Whether he wrote from Little Rock (that memorable on-the-spot reportage he did for the GUARDIAN); whether it was about the Negroes who walked for freedom in Montgomery; whether it was about the thousands of youngsters who demonstrated in Washington for school integration (his own children among them); whether it was a researched piece in the office, backed up by his own personal experiences, about Georgia—in all these stories were his devotion and concern, his anguish for his people, and his determination never to stop doing what he could to shape an answer to the eternal question of his people: How long, O Lord, how long?

Lou Burnham felt every injustice as a personal thing. He spoke about prejudice as a terrible waste. There was anger, but even more there was sorrow. He hated rottenness but he loved goodness more. When he told a personal story of what happened to him on a jimcrow train, he made his torment and frustration yours. When he reported a good job for a Negro friend, or a play to be produced (and more often than not he had a quiet hand in its accomplishment) he made his joy yours.

But above all, he understood the stake of the white people of America in the Negro's freedom, even as he understood and tried to mitigate the Negro's despair at making white people understand what this stake is.

It hurt him to hear some Negroes pit all white people as the enemy. And when it was said to him that this was more than understandable and even justifiable, he said: "Yes, but this cannot be." He had enough love and trust to take white friends into his confidence and thereby open to them a whole new world of insight. That was his greatness, and those of us who shared that confidence will ever be grateful.

IN THE LAST WEEK of his life Lou Burnham wrote, without knowing it, his last testament. His article in the Negro History Week issue of the GUARDIAN (Feb. 15) was perhaps the most personal and perceptive statement that he had ever made in our paper.

"One hundred years," he said, "would seem to be time enough and more for so rich and strong a nation as ours to redeem the promise of freedom made to an unoffending people it once held as slaves." But the promise, he wrote, has not been redeemed, and there is no one to say how long before the Negro "shall cross the bar to equal and undifferentiated citizenship."

Much of what the Negroes fight for, he said, "is not to gain new ground but to restore positions once dearly won and foully taken away." And those who "stand to suffer by the Negro's gain, though powerful, are but a numerically miniscule part of the whole American nation." He concluded:

"But what of the white worker at the lathe and on the farm, the teacher, the doctor, the housewife; the cook in the restaurant, the seaman, the miner in the pit—the vast majority of Americans? What have they to lose from the Negro's forward march? Their prejudices? Yes. Their false sense of superiority? Yes. But, oh, how much to gain; nothing less than a new nation to gain.

"The Negro must say to them: Come, brothers, let us hold hands and walk together; let us build together, on the foundation of my freedom, a new nation dedicated to the proposition affirmed at Gettysburg and waiting these many years for us to make it real.

"That can be the Negro's greatest gift to this great nation."

ONE COULD SAY that Lou Burnham wrote his own epitaph. But it would not be so, nor would he have wanted it said thus. What he wrote was associated not with death, but with life. It was the testament of a man who wanted to and did explore and enjoy every part of life to the fullest. It was a call to the birth of freedom.

In the tears over his passing, in the infinite sadness at the impossible thought of the void he leaves in our work and our lives, we can thank him for having been among us and for having shared with us the bounty of his generous and his gracious soul. In our sorrow there comes to mind the opening of Shelley's elegy on the death of John Keats:

I weep for Adonais—he is dead!
Oh weep for Adonais, though our tears
Thaw not the frost which binds so dear a head!
And thou, sad hour selected from all the years
To mourn our loss, rouse thy obscure compeers,
And teach them thine own sorrow! Say: "With me
Died Adonais! Till the future dares
Forget the past, his fate and fame shall be
An echo and a light unto eternity."

The light declines

THE SUN DROPS down: we fold away the day
And pile it on the shelf with the long years
Since nine old men pondered and fought their fears

Of boys and girls, fought them enough to say
"The school belongs to all, such is our way. . ."

And **this** our way, the threats, the bombs, the jeers,
The token justice so that it appears,
When three walk through the fire, that thousands stay.

The light declines. The warden drops the key.
A man is shattered and a nation too.
His blood cries to the court's integrity,
But there is nothing that the law can do
To nation's lynchers or to man's . . . Tonight
It is my shame and horror to be white.

—Kathryn Peck.

A forum on WBAI Feb. 20

A FEW DAYS before his death Louis Burnham gathered a group of Negro writers and historians together for a Negro History Week discussion. The roundtable was taped for broadcast over New York's WBAI-FM (99.5 mc.) on Saturday, Feb. 20, at 5:30 p.m. WBAI is a sister FM Station of KPFA and KPFK, on the West Coast.

Participating with Burnham will be Jean Blackwell Hutson, curator of the Schomburg Collection at the 135th St. Public Library; William Branch, author of **A Medal for Willie**; novelist Julian Mayfield, who wrote **The Hit** and **The Long Night**, and John Clark, writer and authority on African history.

Latin America discussion in Cambridge Feb. 19-20

THE AMERICAN Friends Service Committee will present a weekend discussion on the need for improved Latin America-U.S. relations in the Stebbins Auditorium of the Unitarian Church, Harvard Sq., Cambridge, Mass., Feb. 19-20. Discussion leaders will include: Carleton Beals, outstanding authority on Latin America; Lincoln Gordon, professor of international economic relations at Harvard Business School; Charles Griffin, professor of history at Vassar College; Rep. Charles O Porter (D-Ore.) and Ambassador Vicente Sanchez Gavito, representative of Mexico to the Organization of American States. Registration for the conference is $3 for adults and $1.50 for students. Information and program can be obtained from: AFSC, PO Box 247, Cambridge 38, Mass.

WHAT THE AMERICAN PRESS DIDN'T PRINT

Statement adopted by the 'Foothills' conference

Following is the statement adopted by the Third East-West Round Table Conference on world disarmament held at the Palace of Westminster in London, Feb. 2 to 4:

SOME OF THE DELEGATES TO THE EAST-WEST DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE
From left to right: Ilya Ehrenburg, writer and member of the Soviet Parliament; Konni Zilliacus and John Baird, Labor MPs; Ion Pas of Rumania; and Sydney Silverman, Labor MP.

PARTICIPANTS in this Conference of 16 nations, including for the first time members of the legislatures of both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., met for unofficial East-West talks and as a result of three-day discussion of various problems connected to disarmament agreed that the world public opinion be informed as to the following:

We agree:

1. That our civilization cannot survive another major war.
2. The only way to prevent a world nuclear catastrophe is to ensure comprehensive, general and controlled disarmament and that the early abolition of nuclear weapons and of other weapons of mass destruction, including existing stocks, is imperative.
3. That there is very little time left to prevent the spreading of nuclear weapons to nations which do not already possess them, and that it is urgent to prevent their spreading.
4. That the division of the world into rival military alliances arming against each other puts peace at the mercy of an incident and subjects mankind to constant peril.
5. That the economic readjustment brought on by universal disarmament is not an insuperable problem for either socialist or free enterprise economies.
6. Although it is impossible to conceive of disarmament without control or of control without disarmament, it is nevertheless true that the risks of a system of control not quite perfect are certainly less great than those of allowing the arms race to continue.

Therefore we urge:

1. That all the proposals for disarmament and effective control should be considered as soon as possible by the Committee of Ten appointed by the United Nations, by the Summit Conference and by an international conference including China. The work of the Committee of Ten meeting in March at Geneva should begin immediately and be continued without a break until it is finished; its minutes should be published regularly and without delay.
2. That as soon as a general agreement on disarmament has been concluded an effective system of control should be enforced by all necessary means required to ensure by international inspection and verification that the disarmament agreed upon whether by stages or otherwise has been and is being effectively implemented.
3. That the U.S., U.K. and U.S.S.R. negotiators at Geneva quickly agree to a treaty banning all nuclear tests with adequate inspection. We urge meanwhile that all countries refrain from nuclear testing. In an effort to break the present deadlock and answer the United States objection that small underground tests could be undetected under the present monitoring system, we recommend that the negotiators consider the addition of small auxiliary seismic stations, which, if necessary, could be unmanned, on the lines recommended in the Berkner Report of March 31, 1959.
4. That the task of world opinion in the coming crucial months should be to facilitate the negotiations, to remove all the obstacles in the way of agreement, and to dispel the atmosphere of mistrust created by the cold war.
5. That the enormous accumulation of outstanding and urgent international problems requires a continuous series of conferences, negotiations and discussions at all levels, from regular meetings of heads of governments, down to unofficial Round-Table gatherings such as the present meeting.

We recognize:

1. That disengagement—that is the establishment of zones free from nuclear weapons, from which foreign forces would be progressively withdrawn and conventional arms reduced and controlled—accompanied by provisions for East-West cooperation in implementing these obligations and maintaining international order could be an important and early stage in general disarmament.
2. That military alliances are the political organization of the arms race, and that the progressive subordination of such alliances to, and their ultimate supersession by, the collective security system of the United Nations, should be an integral part of the process of general and complete disarmament by stages.
3. That the development of international economic, technical and cultural cooperation, aid to underdeveloped countries, and similar measures, using the machinery of the United Nations for the purpose, would serve not only to take up the economic slack resulting from disarmament but also increase the welfare of all peoples and create a network of common ties and interests between all States, rich or poor, whatever their social or economic system, that would establish a firm foundation for their living in peace.

We, members of the East-West Round Table meeting held at the Palace of Westminster, urge world public opinion to do everything possible to help inaugurate a new era in international affairs.

Foothills parley

(Continued from Page 1)

burg and Alexander Korneichuk formulated an appeal to world public opinion "to do everything possible to help inaugurate a new era in international affairs," which was embodied in the conference's statement of 14 technical, political and economic points the public needs to know.

GOODWILL MESSAGES: The proceedings were opened with a paper by Noel-Baker on technical problems, proposing a 60% cut in the major nations' armed forces as a first step. Major contributions to the discussion came from French Sen. Leo Hamon (Gaullist), Swedish Sen. Bengtsson (Agrarian), Lord Boyd-Orr, Italian Socialist P. Vittorelli, and U.S. Rep. Charles O. Porter (D-Ore.) who also took a leading part in drafting the statement. (Porter and the U.S.S.R.'s Prof. Modest Rubinstein, both horn-rimmed and dark sack-suited, flanked British MP Zilliacus on the dais at the press conference, and until they spoke, British newsmen took bustling, jovial Rubinstein for an American and the dourer Porter for a Russian.)

Goodwill messages came from the Indian Congress Party and from industrialist Cyrus Eaton, moving spirit of the Pugwash scientists' meetings whose organizing secy. Betty Royon was a conference participant.

U.S. DOUBTS ANSWERED: An outstanding contribution came from Cornell nuclear physicist Jay Orear, who pointed out that the answer to U.S. doubts about effective nuclear test-control lay in the very report of the Berkner commission (top U.S. scientists appointed by Eisenhower last year) which expressed those doubts. In part of that report which "got lost," it was suggested that a ring of small unmanned stations around the world's seismic region could detect seismic disturbances from nuclear explosions down to one kiloton with 98% accuracy.

The "Foothills" statement's recommendation that this be done underlines the realism of its assertion that "the risks of a control system not quite perfect are certainly less than those of allowing the arms race to continue." Its demand for enforcement of an effective international control system "as soon as a general agreement on disarmament has been concluded" is in line with Khrushchev's insistence that control must be related to actual measures of disarmament.

DISENGAGEMENT: On the political side, the paragraphs in the statement on military alliances and "disengagement" mark an important step forward in East-West agreement. The conference sees a "constant peril to mankind" in rival blocs arming against each other, and calls for their staged "supersession by the collective security system of the UN." Disengagement, by establishing nuclear-free zones where arms and forces would be progressively reduced, is accepted as "an important and early stage" of disarmament (contrary to the official U.S. line).

A specific demand is made for all disarmament and control proposals to be considered by "an international conference including China;" and for the meeting of the UN Committee of Ten at Geneva to "begin immediately and be continued without a break until finished" and "its minutes published regularly and without delay" (points especially stressed by Noel-Baker).

On the problems of economic dislocation resulting from disarmament, the vital point made in the statement is that counter-measures against this must be taken through "the machinery of the UN"—that is, excluding any competition between rival blocs in aid to underdeveloped nations.

SOVIET POSITION: The basic contribution to this part of the discussion came from Supreme Soviet member A. Arzumanian, who documented the Soviet economists' and government's conviction that capitalist economies can adjust to the difficulties and strains of disarming. Conceding that "serious problems" are also involved for socialist economies, Arzumanian pointed to the enormous advantages for all countries of peaceful economic cooperation, which must be organized "in the framework of international organs and with the indispensable participation of the UN."

The problems for the U.S. economy were seen more darkly in a paper by the editors of **Scientific American** which was circulated at the conference, showing the extent to which the U.S. has become economically dependent on war production.

The final paragraph of the conference statement is in effect an agenda for the commission of Western and Eastern economists, which the "Foothills" continuation committee will convene somewhere in Western Europe in the fall for detailed development of international aid and trade schemes. A "Foothills" political commission will be convened at about the same time, probably in Warsaw or Moscow; and another general "Foothills" conference to discuss both commissions' findings will meet after the U.S. elections.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE CHATS WITH WEST GERMANY'S PASTOR MOCHALSKI
The "Foothills" conference found a firm basis for East-West agreement

SURVIVORS FROM 13 COUNTRIES PLEDGE: NEVER AGAIN!

20,000 honor Auschwitz victims

SURVIVORS AT AUSCHWITZ CEREMONY HONOR THEIR LIBERATOR
Red Army Col. Yelisavietsky (in black hat) is embraced by three he freed

By Yuri Suhl

Special to the Guardian

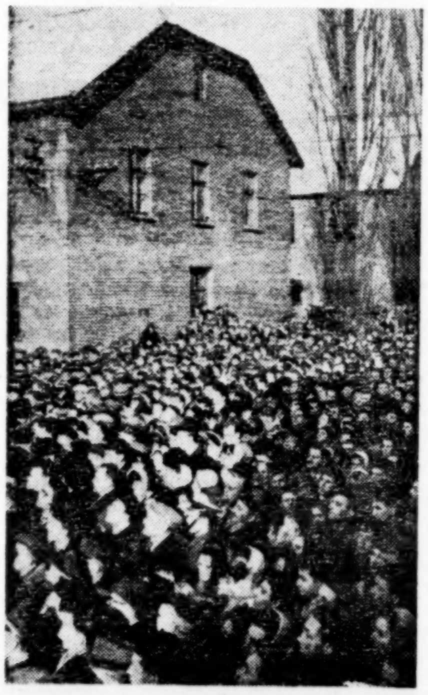
WARSAW

SHORTLY BEFORE midnight, on January 23, a special train left Warsaw for Oswiecim (Auschwitz); nearly all the passengers were once prisoners in the dread concentration camp Auschwitz. The most famous among them was former prisoner No. 62933, a leader in the Auschwitz underground and now Premier of Poland, Jozef Cyrankiewicz.

Once they had been dragged to Auschwitz by the Hitlerites from all over Europe in suffocating cattle cars. For 4,000,000 of their fellow victims—most of them Jews—that had been their last journey. For them the way out of Auschwitz had been through the crematorium chimney. Only 5,000 had escaped that fate when the Red Army liberated Auschwitz on January 25, 1945. Some of the survivors were on the special train.

Now, on the 15th anniversary of the liberation, they had come together in Poland from 13 countries to honor the dead and to warn the world that Auschwitz must never happen again.

TOO CLOSE: Long past midnight few of the passengers had gone to bed. The narrow passageways of the sleeping cars were filled with cigarette smoke and the hum of conversations in many languages. Among the delegates were three Polish Catholic priests in long black robes. Asked what had brought them on the train, they explained that one had been a prisoner in Dachau, and the other two had been in the resistance movement. As such they were members of the League of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, which had organized the trip. Of 2,000 Catholic priests in Dachau, 990 were murdered. Jews and Catholics had been singled out for the worst treatment by the Nazis.



THEY VOW NEVER TO FORGET
Some of the mourners at Auschwitz

"How do you view the recent anti-Semitic outbreaks in West Germany?" the former Dachau prisoner was asked.

"Hitler is dead, but the Nazis are still alive," he replied.

"If you could send a message to the American people, in the light of recent events, what would you tell them?"

He conferred with his colleagues. When he replied, he spoke for all of them. **"What we fear most," he said, "is war. Our apprehension stems from our closeness to the border of West Germany. If the American people were as close to that border as we are, American policy toward** the Adenauer regime would be somewhat different, we think."

GHOSTS FROM THE PAST: At 9:30 the next morning the special train pulled into the Oswiecim station, which was lined with hundreds of people standing in the bitter cold to meet it. Buses were waiting to take the delegates to Birkenau, once the extermination camp of Auschwitz.

The sky over Birkenau was bright blue; the ground, a vast stretch of snow dazzling in the morning sun; the air was clear and crisp. Except for the hushed voices of the delegates and the crunching sound of their footsteps on the hardened snow, Birkenau lay enveloped in a deep silence. We all seemed like ghosts who had appeared from the past to disturb the calm and serenity of this place. It was difficult to associate this serene winter panorama with mass murder and destruction.

Suddenly we came upon a heap of mangled bricks and steel. It was what remained of one of the four crematoria of Birkenau which had been kept burning here day and night and which the Nazis, in their hasty retreat, had not succeeded in destroying completely. We stood before it and the broken bricks seemed to say to us: Yes, it is true. On such beautiful mornings as this the sky over Birkenau was blackened by the smoke of crematoriums.

A few steps from the remains of the crematorium stands a stone tablet bearing the following inscription in Hebrew, Yiddish and Polish:

In memory of the millions of Jews
Martyrs and fighters
Who perished at the hands of the Hitlerite murderers
In Auschwitz—Birkenau 1940-1945

THE REUNION: A heavy-set, broad-shouldered man of medium height approached the tablet. Presently a much taller and younger-looking man appeared and the two locked in a warm embrace and kissed. Another man of similar height and age did the same. Then the two younger men buried their heads in the shoulders of the older man and all three burst into tears. Their faces were contorted with grief. Their bodies shook with uncontrollable sobs. The sight of three big men weeping unashamedly like children brought tears to the eyes of the others who had gathered around them. It was an unforgettable scene.

Who was this man to whom the two men clung like children clinging to a father in time of danger? He was Gregory Davidovitch Yelisavietsky, the Soviet colonel who had liberated Auschwitz. The other two men were Hungarian Jews whom he had saved. They recognized him as their liberator and they wept for joy and gratitude. They also wept in sorrow for their murdered dear ones. **One of the Hungarians had lost 36 members of his family here in Auschwitz.**

As soon as the colonel's identity became known people rushed up to him, eager to shake his hand, to get his signature on anything they had handy. One woman thrust a Hebrew prayer book into his hand and begged him to write his name on it. Later we learned that the colonel, himself a Jew, had lost 40 members of his family, including a brother, when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union. Wherever the Nazis went, their Auschwitzes went with them.

THE TRIBUTE: At eleven o'clock the delegates went from Birkenau to the Auschwitz grounds for the memorial ceremony. First came an honor guard of the Polish army followed by Premier Cyrankiewicz, leading the procession of foreign and Polish delegations. Abreast of the Premier were some high-ranking members of the Polish government. To Chopin's funeral march the procession moved forward slowly to the entrance gate of the camp bearing the mocking inscription, **Arbeit Macht Frei** (Work Makes One Free.) There it halted briefly.

Never, it seemed, was a momentary pause in time charged with so much human feeling and emotion as it was at that fleeting moment. Slowly, then, the procession resumed its march along the paths of the camp, passing the various cell blocks until it came to the Death Wall of Block 11, where the Nazis had shot 20,000 of their victims. There, led by the Premier, the various delegations placed wreaths of flowers in tribute to the martyred dead.

EX-PRISONERS SPEAK: The ceremony ended with a short public meeting. On a raised platform, behind which fluttered the massed flags of the nations whose citizens had died in Auschwitz, sat the official representatives of the foreign and Polish delegations. Gathered in front of the platform were 20,000 men, women and children, whose faces reflected the seriousness and importance of this memorial assembly.

The meeting was conducted and addressed by Tadeuz Holuj, president of the International Oswiecim Committee. Among the speakers he introduced were the Soviet pilot hero, A. Meresyev, who lost both legs in the war and despite this handicap flew combat missions again; Col. G. D. Yelisavietsky, the liberator of Auschwitz; Simone Veil, who, at the age of 16, had been a prisoner in Auschwitz and was now representing the French Minister of Justice; and Bruno Baum, member of the Volkskammer of the German Democratic Republic and a former Auschwitz prisoner.

Speaking for the English delegation, which included Labor MPs Sydney Silverman and Barnett Janner and Alderman Harry Stanley, the Deputy Mayor of Coventry, Hugh Delargy, another Labor MP, said: "The prevention of another Oswiecim must be a load on the conscience of all mankind."

NEVER AGAIN: The main address was delivered by Premier Cyrankiewicz, who concluded: "From this platform we proclaim: We shall never forget and we shall never permit! We have brothers in all parts of the world. Their representatives are here with us as our guests. Let them too proclaim: We shall not forget and we shall not permit! We shall not keep silent—we, former prisoners of concentration camps, as long as the last one of us will have any strength left. After us will come others whom we are teaching to hate fascism, violence, intolerance, racism, anti-Semitism, war and destruction. We shall not cease our struggle until that day will come for which the mighty socialist camp is struggling, the day of universal disarmament and universal peace. All of us who have come out alive owe so much to those who are resting here. We know that at this moment all men of good will are with us."

On a bright wintry morning a warning was sounded from the hallowed grounds of Auschwitz in many tongues. The essence of that warning is summed up in three Polish words that were heard from the lips of many speakers and repeated on posters and in exhibits all over Poland. They are—**Nigdy Wiecej Oswiecimia!** Never Again Auschwitz!

SMITH ACT VICTIM HARRIED BY GUARD

Medical parole for Winston sought

A PRISON GUARD sits outside a room in New York's Montefiore Hospital as witness that the patient inside, Henry Winston, blind in one eye, partially blind in the other and unable to walk, is still in Federal custody.

Winston, one of the three Smith Act defendants still in custody, underwent surgery Feb. 2 for the removal of a brain tumor (benign) by a private physician. He was brought to Montefiore Hospital under guard from the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners in Springfield, Mo., Jan. 30, after his family learned of his illness.

He had complained of failing vision and dizziness for months at the Federal penitentiary in Terre Haute, Ind., but he was not placed in the prison hospital until mid-January. When facilities for diagnosis proved inadequate, he was removed to the Springfield medical center Jan. 21.

Winston's medical future is still in doubt. Doctors are hopeful he will retain partial vision in one eye, but this is not certain. It is also not certain whether he will walk again. The presence of the prison guard and the knowledge that he will be returned to the penitentiary are considered to hamper his recovery.

PLEAS URGED: Winston, 44, former organizational secretary of the Communist Party, has served four years of an eight-year sentence (five years under the Smith Act; three years for failing to surrender for imprisonment). The U.S. Parole Board has under consideration an application for his parole.

Since Winston's illness became known, groups of ministers and other prominent citizens have pleaded to the board on his behalf. Further delegations are to go to Washington this week. They will point out that non-political prisoners are granted medical parole in similar circumstances.

In Chicago, Rev. Alva Tompkins and Rev. William T. Baird sent letters on Essex Community Church stationery to several thousand people urging them to request parole. In the Bronx, where Winston lived, his friends sent a similar mailing.

Requests for Winston's release through parole or amnesty should be sent to Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers and Parole Board chairman George Reed, H.O.L.C. Building, 101 Indiana Ave., Washington, D.C.

WHAT THE PRIME MINISTER SAW ON HIS TOUR

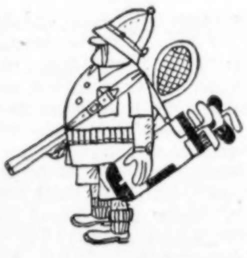
Can Macmillan contain the rising tide in Africa?

By Jweli Mgogo
Special to the Guardian

LONDON

AT HOME BRITAIN never had it so good; in the colonies she never had it so bad, especially in Africa. So, soon after Colonial Secy. Macleod's return from the East African colonies, Premier Macmillan undertook a whirlwind tour of the remaining British territories "to see for myself something of these countries and their peoples, to see and try to understand the developments that are taking place in them and the problems with which their people are faced . . ."

His tour took him to free Ghana and Nigeria, to the strife-torn Central African Federation, to the Union of South Africa and to the High Commission territories of Swaziland, Bechuanaland and Basutoland. Macmillan showed his awareness that colonies cannot be maintained much longer by admitting at the Central African capital, Salisbury, that the fast-flowing tide of nationalism "is one of the facts of the African situation today. We must accept it as a fact and take it into account in framing our policies."



At the same time, in view of Britain's heavy economic dependence on overseas territories, he is anxious that when they do become independent they will at least maintain their link with the sterling area. He has good cause to be anxious.

U.S. CUTS IN: The colonies have been Britain's biggest dollar-earners, and these earnings helped considerably in her post-war recovery. In recent years, however, the U.S. has not been content to remain at Britain's mercy in obtaining African goods. While Britain sat with self-satisfied patience waiting for things to sort themselves out, the U.S. has aggressively pushed heavy-investment projects in British Africa both officially and privately, thus cutting off a big part of Britain's sources for her dollar reserves.

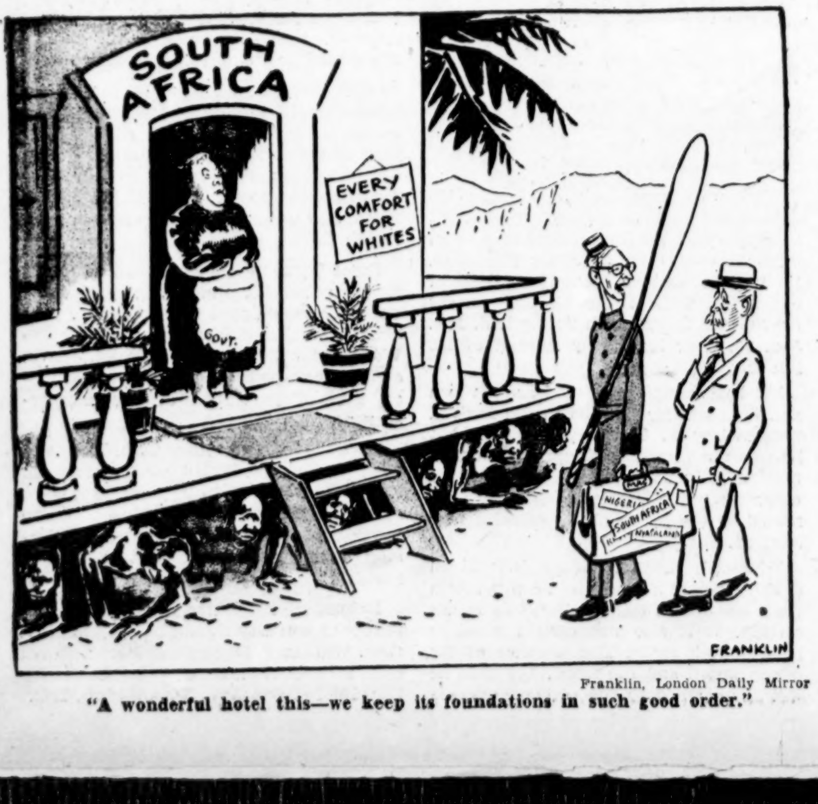
By 1956 the combined World Bank and Export-Import Bank loans to South Africa amounted to $330 millions and to Northern and Southern Rhodesia, $144 millions. Equally large amounts have been invested by private companies in the Rhodesian copper-belt and in South Africa. These areas have strategic materials which the U.S. needs, pay very high dividends, and have what is considered a "healthy climate" for investment.

This is disturbing enough for Macmillan, but the U.S. has not been content with investment alone: she is busy wooing the leaders of emergent territories, and is actively engaged in training trade unionists and giving them financial aid. Many of the present African leaders, notably Dr. Nkrumah, Nigeria's Dr. Azikiwe, Kenya's Tom Mboya and Nyasaland's Dr. Banda are U.S.-trained. At the same time, in conjunction with the Afro-Asian group in the UN, the U.S. is exerting pressure on Britain to grant independence to her colonies.

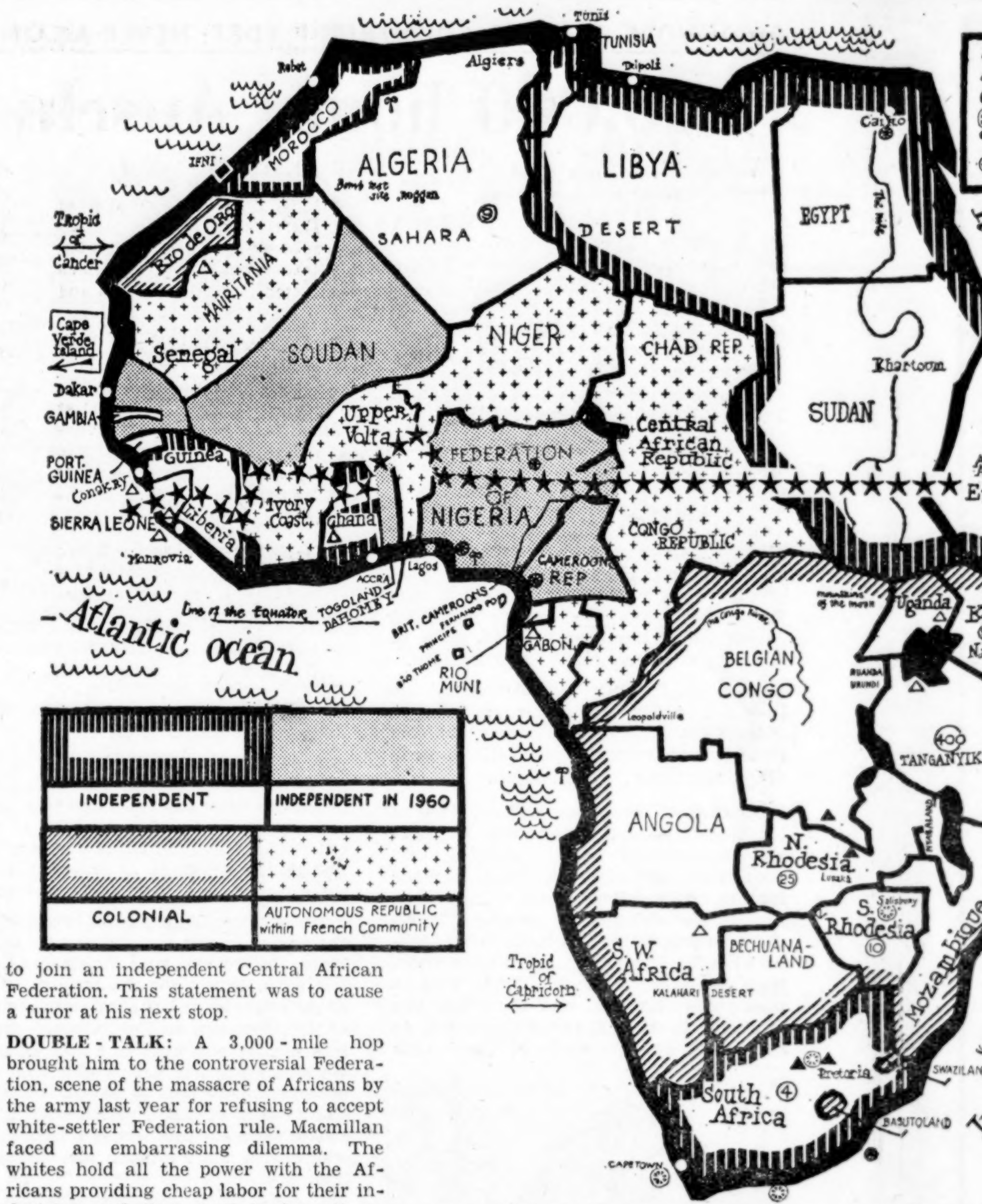
ENOUGH OF BRITAIN? In Ghana, his first stop, Macmillan was amiably but coolly received. He said he was happy to see Ghana progressing so fast, and assured Nkrumah that Britain was watching with interest and anxious to help. Having shown him around the new Tema harbor project, Nkrumah chose that week to discuss his plans for a "United States of Africa." Was this, and the definite announcement that Ghana would become a republic, Nkrumah's way of telling Macmillan that Africa has had enough of Britain and wants to stand on its own feet?

His next stop, in Nigeria, was by far the most jovial of the trip. There the feudal Sardauna of Sokoto threw a "durbar" for him, and it was perhaps heartening to see a conservative African occupying the office of Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria backed by a majority of Representatives from the feudal north. But the students of Ibadan University spoiled it by hailing him as "Mac the Knife" and peppering him with questions on British intentions in the rest of Africa.

They made it quite clear that their own freedom was not enough, and that no African country could be kept in isolation from the others. Answering reporters' questions, Macmillan said Britain had no intention of removing her protection from Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia until the people of these countries expressed their wish whether or not to join an independent Central African Federation. This statement was to cause a furor at his next stop.



Franklin, London Daily Mirror
"A wonderful hotel this—we keep its foundations in such good order."



DOUBLE-TALK: A 3,000-mile hop brought him to the controversial Federation, scene of the massacre of Africans by the army last year for refusing to accept white-settler Federation rule. Macmillan faced an embarrassing dilemma. The whites hold all the power with the Africans providing cheap labor for their industries, and they want to keep it so. They see the African as a savage fit only for menial tasks, and will not tolerate any suggestion that he be given a say in the government.

The Africans, outnumbering whites by about 400 to 1, feel that democracy is as good for them as it is for Britain, and that the Federation setup is a design to strengthen the cruel arm of jimcrow. Macmillan knows their demands are just—but to say so would be to "sell out the whites"; and what is more he sees the whites' dominant position in the Federation as the only sure way of maintaining its British link.

In the end he chose to be non-committal, and emerged a grand master of double-talk. In a speech to the all-white Rhodesia National Affairs Assn. he denied having suggested in Nigeria that Nyasaland could secede from the Federation. In the next breath he added: "We will not remove the protection of the British government to either of the northern territories—Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland—until it is clear that it is the expressed wish of these peoples to enter into a full and independent federation."

CONFLICTING STAND: The rest of his speech was a eulogy of the high ideals of the pioneers and their successors, who in 70 years had brought so much to the noble savages they found. He was glad, he said, that 85% of the finance and equipment for the huge Kariba Dam came from Great Britain He probably had in mind the extent of U.S. influence and competition in the country when he said this.

Then, with an eye to the African, he warned his all-white audience that economic progress could not be considered in isolation from political progress, and that both whites and blacks must cooperate to make federation a success. He showed he was a firm believer in federation, describing its destruction as "an act of treachery."

He had walked a tight-rope, but not so successfully. Everywhere he went Africans showed him that their misery was caused by federation, and demanded the release of their leaders from jail if Macmillan was sincere in saying he would not withdraw British protection.

The only nationalist leaders he met in the Federation were Kaunda and Nkumbula of Northern Rhodesia. As he flew south to the last stage of his tour, his ambivalence in the Federation began to show results. Nationalist leaders reckoned he had left a bitter trail of racial animosity behind him, and Southern Rhodesia threatened to secede from the Federation if the Northern territories were to be surrendered to governments led by the black "savages." Ambivalence had not paid.

HITS APARTHEID: In South Africa, Premier Hendrik Verwoerd, architect of **apartheid**, skilfully used Macmillan's presence to whitewash his racist policies. With little or no control over his program, Macmillan was made to open a 'Bantu' university, was fraudulently invested Paramount Chief of the Sekukuni, and given no chance to meet any African nationalist leaders.

He redeemed himself somewhat, however, in his address to the Union Parliament. He warned South Africans to heed the voice of change in Africa if they were to survive and hinted that they should not expect any British support in their racist policies. It now remains to be seen whether Britain will carry out this withdrawal of support. Her voting on South African issues at the UN will be watched with interest in the future.

UNCERTAIN FUTURE: Macmillan faces a tricky situation in Africa. U.S. influence is on the increase, and Britain can do precious little about it because of her dependence on American aid. Mounting nationalist pressure has put British influence on the decline; and Britain does not know whether to ignore it and court violence in order to please the white settlers, or give in and hope to retain the friendship of the African. At home, pub-

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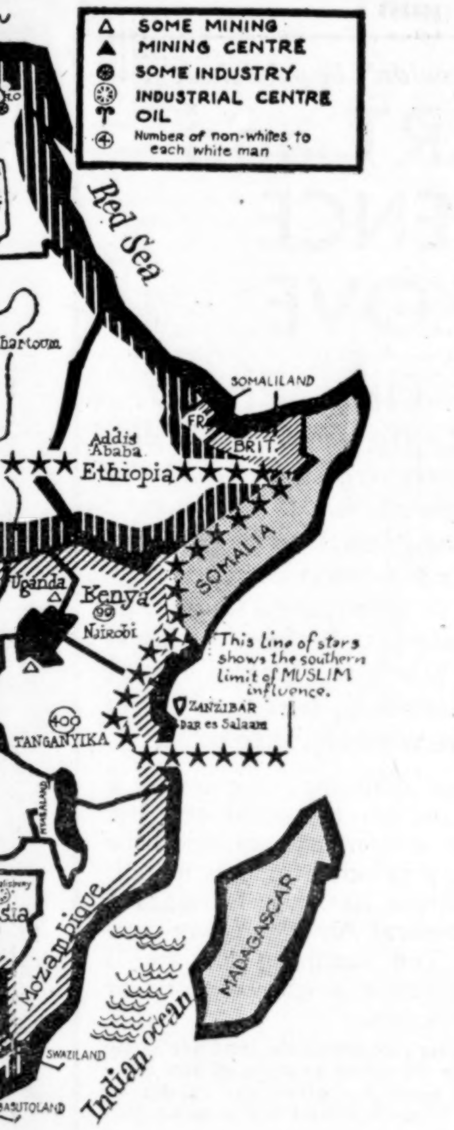
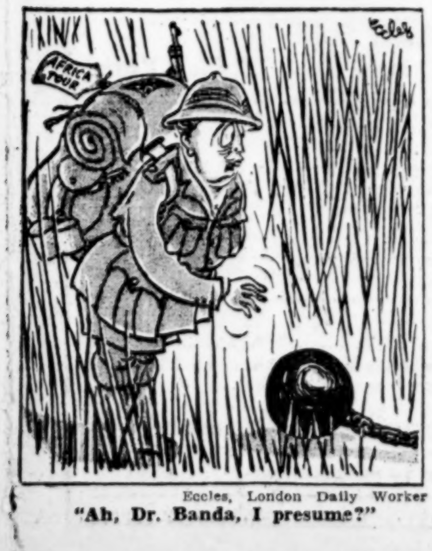
AFRICA TOUR



lic opinion has been pitifully uninformed on African affairs and the government could defend its policies by simply saying Africans were still unable to govern themselves.

But since the Nyasaland episode last year the truth has been coming out. For example, in a BBC television program on the recent negotiations here concerning Kenya, Tom Mboya showed himself to the British masses as apparently better qualified to govern than many of the white Kenyan "leaders" on the show. Such revelations make the old arguments indefensible.

Yet Macmillan must retain Africa within the sterling bloc if Britain's economy is not to be rudely upset. De Gaulle has granted autonomy to all France's African territories except Algeria, where a "self-determination" formula still remains to be worked out. Belgium has given up the Congo. Will Macmillan stem the tide? Has his tour shown him any means to enable him to salvage the economic link from the ruins of Empire?



Eccles, London Daily Worker

"Ah, Dr. Banda, I presume?"

RELIEVING THE WHITE MAN OF HIS BURDEN

Light comes to the Dark Continent

By Kumar Goshal

THIS IS THE YEAR of decision in Africa. There, in an area of 11,600,000 square miles and among 230,000,000 people, the death struggle of colonialism is being conducted in all its violence and obscenity.

Since World War II, Africans have been relieving the white man of his burden with an inexorable movement. The difference in the resolutions approved at the first All-African Peoples Conference in Ghana last year and the second in Tunis last month indicated the degree of maturity gained by the leaders of the African liberation movements.

A YEAR'S DIFFERENCE: Accra aimed at promoting "the African non-violent revolution" and made only vague gestures toward mutual asssistance and cooperation in the freedom struggle. But it went all out in soliciting support for Ghana's Premier Nkrumah's dream of "a union of African states."

At Tunis the emphasis was on militant struggle for freedom and more concrete assistance by free Africans to those still in bondage. But there was a more cautious and practical approach to the form of the unity of African states.

Representation at Tunis varied. Official delegations representing the governing parties and trade unions came from the United Arab Republic, Morocco, Tunisia, Ghana and Guinea. Kenya, Tanganyika, the Belgian Congo, Zanzibar, Basutoland and the Somalis were represented by delegates of their main political parties. Political exiles had to speak for Central and South Africa, since their governments prevented the departure of local delegations. Three delegates from Nyasaland were refused passports.

VARYING CONDITIONS: The conference heard reports on the continuing struggle in the colonies, and discussed ways to strengthen the fight for freedom; economic and cultural problems; how to develop an African personality, and the most acceptable form of integration of African nations.

The stages of the freedom struggle in the remaining colonies vary widely. Kenyans, for instance, have progressed to the point of holding round-table discussions in London. South Africans are fighting on several fronts as the battle lines become more clearly drawn. News has been trickling out of the Portuguese colonies of vast stirrings and brutal suppression.

KENYANS IN LONDON: When the Tunis conference ended, Kenya's future was still being discussed in London by African, Asian, Arab and European delegates from Kenya and British colonial secretary Iain Macleod. The discussions got off on the wrong foot when Macleod barred from the talks Peter Koinange, one of the two advisors to the African delegation headed by Tom Mboya. The other was the eminent American attorney, Thurgood Marshall, a Negro.

Koinange is an officer of the African Affairs Bureau in Ghana. He was barred on the ground that he had been the chief aide of Kenya leader Jomo Kenyatta, recently released into "restricted residence" after a seven-year hard-labor term for alleged leadership of "Mau Mau terrorists." When the African delegation boycotted the sessions, Macleod agreed to allow Koinange in an outer room for consultations.

THE DIVISIONS: The talks then bogged down on the degree and kind of freedom to be granted to Kenya this year and on minority rights. Mboya and other Africans are demanding a government responsible to the people and elected on universal franchise ("one man, one vote").

The Asian-Arab minority is split, one group supporting the Africans and the other asking weighted representation in the administration. A middle of the road European group, led by Michael Blundell, urges "gradual progress" toward self-government, beginning with a restricted franchise. The right-wing European United Party leader Group Capt. Llewellyn Briggs demands permanent white control.

SOUTH AFRICA BOYCOTT: The South Africans' struggle is highlighted by a boycott of South African goods at home and abroad; defiance of a police ban on demonstrations; and sometimes in spontaneous uprisings against intolerable conditions. The boycott has been successful enough in London to force shopkeepers to label South African goods as "Commonwealth made" or "Empire made." In London last month Conservative Lord Altrincham said:

"If our brothers in South Africa feel when they turn to us they receive nothing but words, can we honestly expect them to be surprised when they turn to a violent solution as the only one open to them?"

GHANA'S KOJO BOTSIO
The Peoples' Conference cheered him

To combat the boycott movement, the London **Observer** reported (Jan. 31) that last December "a group of powerful tycoons" set up a South African Foundation and allocated $1,500,000 to "promote international understanding" of the government's apartheid policy. The chairman is the head of Tube Investments, "Freddie" de Guingand, known as General Bang Bang; two other influential members are diamond, gold and copper king Harry Oppenheimer and the American mining millionaire Charles Engelhard, who describes South Africa as the "bastion of free enterprise."

The **Observer** said that "some South African [white] liberals have gloomily compared the Foundation with the support given by conservative German industrialists to Hitler after 1933." Chief Luthuli, interned president of the African National Congress, calls it "the new apartheid defense league."

PORTUGAL'S COLONIES: Matching the South African government in its racist policies, Portugal has long clamped a tight lid on its colonies such as Angola (population 4,500,000) and Mozambique. The government of Premier Oliviera Salazar considers its slices of Africa (797,000 square miles) as integral parts of Portugal, and has consistently defied UN requests for information.

But it is now known that the African Uniao das Populacoes de Angola (UPA) has been growing stronger, even as the government has been placing thousands under arrest. When the neighboring Belgian Congo becomes independent this year, its several hundred thousand Angolan residents are expected to lend a helping hand to their brothers in Angola.

RIGHT TO BE FREE: In the light of the varied situation in Africa, the Tunis Conference adopted a series of resolutions. It asserted, first of all, that "independence was a right to be taken, if necessary by force, not a privilege to be negotiated." Even the cautious, shrewd pro-West Tunisian President Bourguiba said that all roads to independence were "equally valid and equally respectable."

Profoundly impressed by the Algerian National Front (FLN), the conference unanimously endorsed a volunteer African army in support of the Algerians and recommended that such an army also aid other Africans soliciting such aid. Ghana's Economic Minister Kojo Botsio was cheered when he said his government would put "nothing in the way" of Ghanaians wishing to join the volunteer army. FLN spokesman Ahmed Boumendjel invited all Africans to visit the Algerian liberation army and "learn the methods of the revolutionary war of independence." The conference also pledged financial support for all Africans struggling against colonialism.

RIGHT TO RESOURCES: It warned against the danger of colonialism being perpetuated through foreign economic control even after independence, and asserted the right of the Africans to their own resources.

Noting that existing improvements in transportation, communication, industry, taxation and customs have been devised by the colonial powers solely to serve their own needs, the conference recommended revisions for the benefit of the people.

A FEELING OF CONFIDENCE: Many speakers deplored the Africans' cultural dependence on Europe. They urged a systematic exploration of the Africans' great achievements of the past and a truthful rewriting of African history. They aimed toward an African personality which would join the best of their own past to Western progress.

Shunning too-hasty political integration, the conference advocated for the immediate future an exchange of teachers, students, agricultural and industrial experts; coordination of economic and financial policy; elimination of customs barriers and visas; development of a central technical institute and investment bank, and all-African transport companies.

The conference was remarkably harmonious, alive with a feeling of concrete achievements and the ability to control and guide the future. It reelected as secretary general Abdoulaye Diallo, Guinea's envoy in Ghana, and agreed to meet again in Cairo next January.

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WE UNDERSTAND SHE LOOKS GREAT IN SHORTS TOO
Kim Hunter (r.) with Tom Mitchell (l.) and Tony Randall

THE SECRET OF TELEVISION

Cap'n Barrows would run 'em out of town

By Barrows Dunham

ON FEBRUARY 28 you folks are going to see on your television screens a little gem of cold-war idiocy called "The Secret of Freedom," by Archibald MacLeish. I know about this because it was filmed in my native town, Mount Holly, New Jersey, where, 60 years ago, my grandfather, Captain Barrows, used to march with the GAR veterans on Decoration Day, May 30. The town looks charming and is charmingly photographed, and it was so pleased at being photographed that the local movie theater gave four performances of the film on January 28—all for free. One of these I saw, and that is how I know about it. But it was lucky for MacLeish and the actors that my grandfather died in 1926. He would have run the rascals out of town. He was captain of a company of emancipated slaves, and he really did know the secret of freedom.

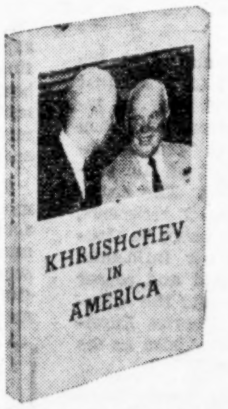
Well, I declare, if ever I saw a man puzzled by politics, it was Tony Randall. You see, he and his wife want the town to pass a bond issue for better schools and higher salaries for teachers, so that more kids can go on to college, so that they can learn how to make bigger bombs than the Russians do. And Tony knows that Russia, where everybody reads and thinks and says what the police tell them, is turning out a great many more scientists and engineers than we do in our free country, where teachers have nothing to worry about but low salaries. But, hang it all, the citizens of Mount Holly vote down the bond issue two to one.

IT is terribly disappointing and terribly puzzling. Tony and Kim Hunter, his wife, feel so bad about it that they quarrel with each other at breakfast, and Tony has to finish his coffee on the front stoop. (Good local color: they have stoops in Mount Holly). "What is the matter with us?" Tony goes around saying, "what is the matter with us?" And pretty soon people begin to think he is a communist or something, when all he wants to do is defeat communism.

Well, you can see that he is in trouble. Fortunately, Thomas Mitchell lives in town and happens to be librarian at the local library, and, although he is librarian, he has read many of the books in the library. He has read, for example, Pericles' Funeral Oration, and knows where you can find it; he has read Lincoln's speech about American democracy's being the last best hope on earth. He reads all this to Tony, when Tony gets up to the library (which is on High Street near the Mount); and about the time they reach the part about the last best hope, the film shows a picture of the famous mushroom cloud, and the audience understands the meaning of the word "last."

WELL, NEITHER THOMAS nor Tony really want to drop that cloud, because it may kill everybody, but they figure that with that bond issue we can beat the Russians nevertheless. Thomas says to Tony something like, "Just one guy has to believe in something; that's all it takes." And Tony believes in something, and since that's all it takes, he goes home to break the glad news to Kim Hunter, who is digging in their flower garden in shorts with a very fine pair of legs. (Captain Barrows would have liked her). I have to tell you that when the audience saw Kim Hunter digging in her garden in shorts with a very fine pair of legs, they broke out into applause and even cheers. They know the secret of freedom in Mount Holly, but it wasn't the secret Mr. MacLeish had in mind. I don't know what he had in mind because he never let on, not once. But Tony and Kim (in her shorts) run off through the neighborhood to re-advocate the bond issue, and I think next time it will pass.

Well, dear me. Captain Barrows lies buried in the cemetery at Cold Spring, near Cape May, New Jersey, almost a hundred miles south. It's lucky for MacLeish and the actors that it's a hundred miles . . .



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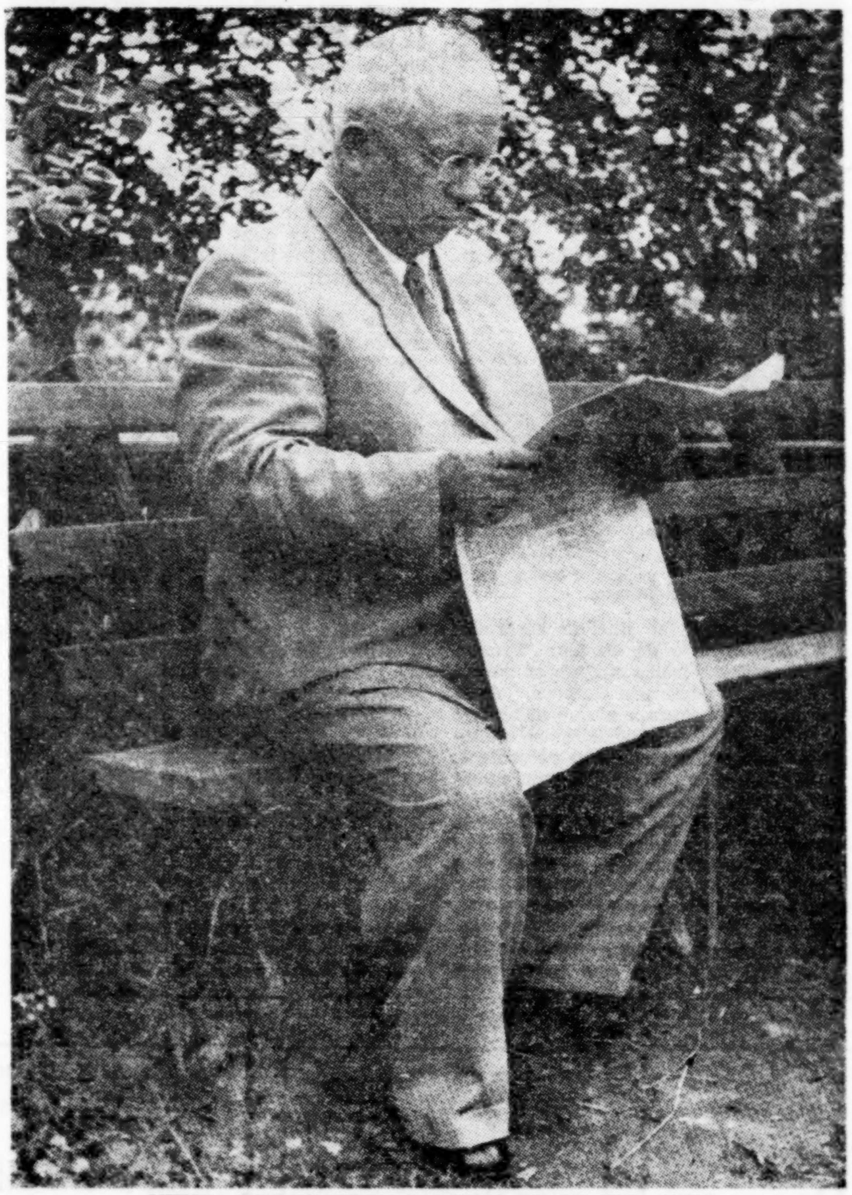
BOOKS

New pamphlets cover wide range



NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV CATCHES UP ON THE NEWS
Two new pamphlets deal with his recent tour of the U.S.

AN ABUNDANCE of vital information on world affairs is available in a wide variety of inexpensive recent pamphlets and booklets. Following are notes on some; others will be noted from time to time.

The National Council of American Soviet Friendship, 114 E. 32nd St., New York 16, has published two booklets and a pamphlet in recent months in the interest of a better understanding of the U.S.S.R.

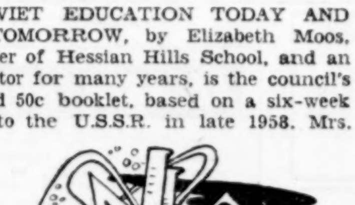
THE STORY OF AMERICAN-SOVIET RELATIONS,, 1917-1959, is a 95-page booklet (50c.) by the Rev. Dr. Harry F. Ward, Professor-emeritus of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary. Dr. Ward's introduction finds it deplorable that the foundations of peaceful coexistence had not been laid before the discovery of atomic and nuclear energy, in which case "their terrific power could have been applied to the peaceful, constructive activities of mankind." This having failed, the choice today is "peaceful coexistence or warring coextinction"; and militarists who believe anything can survive a clash of nuclear arms "are the successors of those about whom it was said in ancient Rome 'Whom the gods will destroy they first make mad'."

Dr. Ward's principal text reviews Soviet external relations from the infant nation's appeal in 1917 for negotiations to end World War I with a just and lasting world peace; the reply of international intervention led by Britain and the U.S. aimed at destroying the world's first socialist state; the period leading to recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the U.S. under President Roosevelt in 1933; and thence through World War II and the Cold War to the present period of international visits and impending summit negotiations.

Summing up the virulent propaganda for continuing the cold war, Dr. Ward does not minimize the enormous job of winning the initiative from the warmakers. The cold war will not be ended "by formal declaration" but by changes in foreign policy in which halting of atomic tests and the ultimate outlawing of nuclear weapons are achieved as the first step in disarmament. A short appendix includes the Camp David communiqué and encouraging addresses by President Eisenhower, Secy. of State Christian Herter and Premier Khrushchev on the exchange of visits.

A ten-cent pamphlet issued by the Council supplements Dr. Ward's booklet with the complete text of Khrushchev's disarmament address before the UN, and the Soviet proposals for total disarmament in four years.

SOVIET EDUCATION TODAY AND TOMORROW, by Elizabeth Moos, founder of Hessian Hills School, and an educator for many years, is the council's second 50c booklet, based on a six-week visit to the U.S.S.R. in late 1958. Mrs. Moos has written two previous appraisals of Soviet education, in 1950 and 1956. The present work of 93 pages brings her studies up to date, and includes the concurring impressions of many other U.S. educators who have studied Soviet educational methods and results at first hand in recent years.



The work is wholly factual with Mrs. Moos' clearly appreciative view expressed principally in her deep interest in the Soviet system. At the time of her latest studies, 1958, statistics culled from the text indicate that a million children were in nurseries, 2,000,000 in kindergartens, 15,200,000 in grades 1-4, 13,500,000 in grades 5-10, and 2,000,000 in higher education along with some 800,000 correspondence students.

Under the new educational theses embodied in the current seven-year plan as the "Law for Strengthening the Ties between School and Life and Further Development of the Public Education System," eight-year compulsory schooling becomes the basis of Soviet education, with options thereafter for graduates to (1) continue in new polytechnical-general secondary schools for three years of evenly divided study and paid work, with opportunities for higher education thereafter; (2) enter a technicum (technical-professional high school) for three or four years training, becoming eligible for higher education after three years work in the chosen field; or (3) enter a vocational or labor-reserve school which by 1964, when the changeover is scheduled to be completely in effect, will also be on a paid work-study basis.

Other options include going to work on completion of the eight-year schooling, with further education available by correspondence or in factory or farm schools. Mrs. Moos' study covers curriculum, recreational programs, special schools for music, arts, etc. and for backward as well as neurotic and psychotic children; teacher training and prestige, youth organizations and an extensive concluding chapter on higher education. Her references in English and Russian (which she reads and speaks fluently) are listed at the conclusion.

The Council also maintains a lending library of documentary films and photo exhibits as well as books, pamphlets, etc., on a variety of aspects of Soviet life. Free lists of materials available will be sent on request.

SCOTT NEARING began teaching in 1903 and taught in five higher educational institutions until ousted in the teacher purges of the first World War. He first visited the Soviet Union in 1925-26, wrote perhaps the first U.S. study of Soviet education in 1926; and has been back five times, most recently in 1957-58 when he and his wife Helen spent three months in the U.S.S.R. and People's China. For venturing to China, they were subjected on return to a State Dept. inquisition, and their passports canceled.

The Nearings are now living at Harborside, Maine, whence under the imprint of the Social Science Institute they have produced three brief and illuminating pamphlets. No. 1 is a general 31-page essay on the powers and duties of government and the rights and responsibilities of citizens, entitled **To Promote the General Welfare.** Price 25c. No. 2 is **Soviet Education,** 30 pages, 50c, covering less ground but with longer personal observation than Mrs. Moos' study. The two could be used together, since Nearing's touches some different areas, such as sport, experimental education and the search for aptitudes. Both pamphlets stress the fact that all Soviet education is free; and that adult students receive stipends. No. 3 of the Nearing pamphlets is signed by husband and wife, and is called **Our Right to Travel.** It is only 24 pages (for 25c) but packed with interest, since nearly half is devoted to give-and-take with State Dept. officials over the lifting of their passports for going to China.

INTERNATIONAL ARTS AND SCIENCES PRESS, a division of Bookfield House, Inc., 33 W. 42nd St., New York 36, has published two pamphlets on Khrushchev, one at 15c giving 32 pages of biographical notes and a review of his ideas on coexistence under the title **N. K. Khrushchev: On the Occasion of his Visit to the U.S.** The other, 35c, provides 63 pages of selections from speeches and articles published during 1958. The title: **On Peaceful Competition and Cooperation.**

MAUD RUSSELL, editor of **Far East Reporter** and for many years as a young woman a YWCA worker in China, returned there for three months, April-July, 1959, and has written a 48-page report (35c) called **New People in New China.** Since she speaks Chinese fluently, her reporting is all first-hand.

She visited old friends among scholars and teachers, inspected prisons, toured communes, attended court proceedings, found the YWCA still flourishing busily (paying its way out of endowments and rentals from its nine-story office building in Shanghai); met a one-time tobacco worker who hailed her by her Chinese name; and ran across her first Chinese "boy friend," (then a boy of six), now a college graduate, father of a 12-year-old son and managing a machine plant. He said to her: "Just think—the good society you used to tell us children about—we have it now!"

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE (Quakers) has available two pamphlets on China, one at 20c called **Our China Policy,** reprinting from **The Progressive** an article by Sen. Clair Engle and an editorial both arguing for friendly relations with China, with diplomatic and UN recognition. The other, at 30c, reprints under the title **China—1959** a series of articles in the Toronto **Star** by Walter Gordon, an accountant, business man and college trustee who visited China on invitation of the China Council for Promotion of International Trade. A generally friendly, carefully observant 42-page account arrives at the rueful conclusion that most of the materials China wants from Canada are U.S.-controlled, and therefore unexportable without "serious" consequences "for a relatively small nation with a population of only 17 million people."

Most AFSC offices can provide the pamphlets. Ours came from 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

THE CANADIAN PEACE CONGRESS has reprinted as a 10c pamphlet Dr. Linus Pauling's notable address to the Fifth World Conference Against A and H Bombs in Hiroshima last August. The text appeared excerpted in the GUARDIAN at the time of its delivery. The pamphlet edition, entitled **Our Choice—Atomic Death or World Law,** may be ordered from Box 218, Station Q, Toronto 7, Canada.

CORLISS LAMONT'S Basic Pamphlet No. 13 (10c, Box 42, Cathedral Station, New York 25) is called **My Trip Around the World** and covers in 47 vest-pocket-size pages the highlights and observations of his six-month world tour last year. Lamont did not go to China, although he flew across a corner of it enroute from Tashkent to Delhi, India. He writes of his experiences in India as the most significant of his trip, for "in no major country had I ever seen such dreadful poverty, such a disease-ridden people, such backward religion and such absymal and widespread ignorance."

He notes that when the Chinese Communists won power in 1949, India's per capita income was estimated at $57, compared with China's $27; and observes that "unless India's Five-Year Plan brings about more rapid progress than at present, the example of Communist China will steadily grow more persuasive among the Indians and other people of the East." He found India's economic and social problems "so formidable that I do not see how Prime Minister Nehru . . . . and his Congress Party are going to solve them."

—John T. McManus

Sahara bomb

(Continued from Page 1)

drilling for oil at Hassi Messaoud, the French had hit a subterranean reservoir with enough water supply to build "a garden city" and to plant 50,000 trees this year" to act as a wind-break, anchor the dunes and provide a green belt in the midst of the desert."

Soil-explorers had discovered that the gravel in the Tanenzrouft was "just a thin, ploughable layer, on top of fossil soil [under which] they have found the pollens of a large variety of Mediterranean plants, which they date 7,000 years ago." Calder added:

"The soil-survey estimates the area of this dormant soil at 50,000,000 acres—just 4,000,000 acres less than the total area of Great Britain. And under this is the mighty [water] reservoir. . . . The atom bomb is not the kind of awakening the sleeping soil deserves."

JOINT MOVE URGED: Reaction to the explosive "awakening" was strong and swift. Angry Moroccans, who regard Reggan as legally theirs, demanded immediate withdrawal of French "occupation troops." The leading Istiqlal party urged "all peoples and governments of Africa" to meet to decide on joint measures against France.

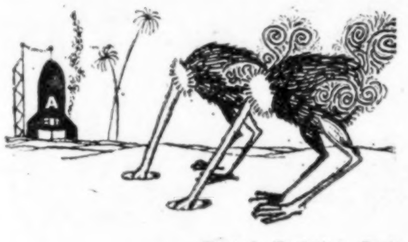
The Rabat government was reported considering an appeal to the UN Security Council to prevent further tests at Reggan. Istiqlal leaders called the test a "gesture of folly and false grandeur" and asked the government to take "all measures of reprisal," including a diplomatic break with France.

President Habib Bourguiba authorized Tunisian Secy. of State for Information, Mohammed Masmoudi, to say: "Tunisians are profoundly shocked and hurt." He added: "We cannot believe that France is seeking to put pressure on the Algerian nationalist fighters by exploding atom bombs."

GHANA TAKES ACTION: Six hours after Paris announced the explosion, Ghana's Premier Nkrumah said in a radio broadcast that his government had "learned with horror" of the test in defiance of the UN and protests by Ghana and other African states. Noting Premier Debre's announcement that "this explosion is only the first of a series," Nkrumah assured his nation he would safeguard their interests. As "a first step," his government immediately froze all French assets in Ghana until effects of the explosion on the people could become known.

The government of the United Arab Republic, which had severed diplomatic relations with France after the invasion of Suez, instructed its UN delegation to seek "unified action" by Asian-Africans against French defiance of the UN resolution.

THE FRAIL STRUCTURE: In London, Bertrand Russell, president, and Canon Collins of St. Paul's Cathedral, chairman of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, protested to de Gaulle: "France has menaced the frail structure on which our hopes for peace are founded." At a disarmament conference arranged by the British Peace Council, 500 delegates unanimously adopted a resolution of protest.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

In the Sahara

The West German government made no comment. But the opposition Social Democrats called the test announcement "one of the most grievous reports of recent years," and hoped it would hasten agreement at Geneva. Students at West Berlin's Free University demonstrated in front of a French government building. Pioneer nuclear physicist and Nobel Prize winner Dr. Max Born said the French test was "purely a prestige gesture."

NO NEW PRESTIGE: The "prestige" was not great. The bomb tested was of the size and power of the U.S. bomb dropped on Hiroshima. French physicist Alfred Kastler told columnist Joseph Barry (N.Y. **Post**, Feb. 10) that France would find it impossible to follow through and build a nuclear arsenal: the cost would be prohibitive and the technical experts unavailable.

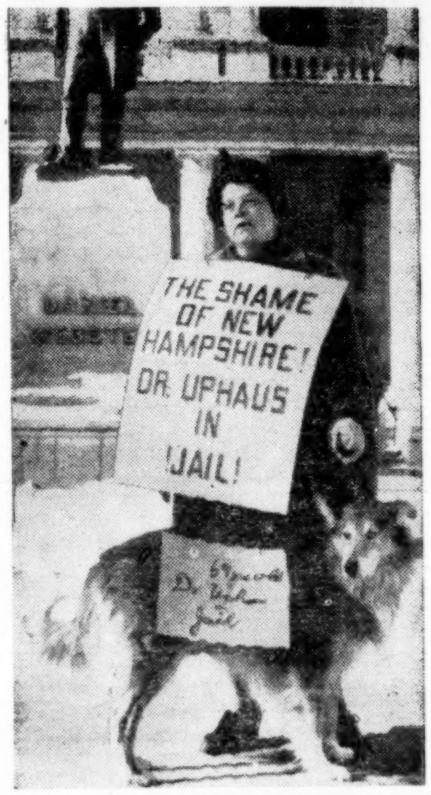
Nor did the test add to France's "grandeur." Many countries are capable of producing such a bomb. India, for instance, declared recently it had the know-how but would deliberately refrain from making bombs. West German physicist Dr. Willibald Jentschke said that "any country that has sufficient electricity and the technology to make a good wrist-watch" could produce an atom bomb.

The British and the Soviet governments and the State Dept. in Washington (unofficially) regretted the test. A Geneva, the Soviet, British and U.S. delegates doubted that the Sahara explosion qualified France to participate in the current test ban conference.

GENEVA DEADLOCK: It was not the French test but the latest U.S. proposal which created a new deadlock at Geneva. This proposal called for banning all tests except those in outer space, and underground tests too small to detect. Pentagon and AEC pressure was seen in the fact that President Eisenhower made this proposal after it had been leaked to the press and rejected by the Soviet delegation.

The Pentagon and the AEC are apparently following the old John Foster Dulles method of devising proposals sure to be unacceptable to the Soviet Union. Thus the onus for failure to negotiate a test ban could be placed on Moscow.

The Associated Press meanwhile reported (Feb. 5) that U.S. nuclear scientists and military weapons experts are going ahead with preliminary preparations—including digging tunnels at the Nevada testing grounds—to start tests quickly, if and when ordered to do so.


THE SHAME OF NEW HAMPSHIRE! DR. UPHAUS IN JAIL!

You tell 'em, Irma!

MRS. IRMA C. OTTO of Woodstock, Conn., for many years a New Hampshire resident (she ran for governor on the Progressive Party ticket in 1948) pickets the New Hampshire state capitol in Concord in behalf of Willard Uphaus. Her dog Teddy is just as indignant over the jailing of Dr. Uphaus, who will get a hearing on his appeal from his one-year jail sentence before the New Hampshire Supreme Court on March 8. Mrs. Uphaus writes: "It is impossible to tell you how much your letters, gifts, poems and prayers have meant to him." Dr. Uphaus' address: Box 9, Boscawen, N.H.

PUBLICATIONS

MY TRIP
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In this new pamphlet Dr. Lamont presents a Humanist philosopher's refreshingly unorthodox impressions of the British Labor Party . . . English college gardens . . . Art treasures of Florence and Athens . . . Soviet postwar recovery . . . Tea-time at a Soviet collective farm . . . Cow worship in India . . . Poverty and India's Five-Year Plans . . . Hiroshima: After-effects of the A-bomb . . . World peace and human brotherhood.

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Morfords will be honored at N.Y. reception Feb. 28

THE REVEREND and Mrs. Richard Morford will be guests of honor at two Welcome-Home receptions to be held on Sunday, Feb. 28, at the Hotel Shelburne, Lexington Ave. at 37th St., New York City. Mr. Morford, executive director of the National Council of American Soviet Friendship, and Mrs. Morford, are returning from the Soviet Union and will report on their trip at the receptions. Rockwell Kent, the Council's national chairman, will preside.

Owing to the heavy response to the earlier arrangements for a 1:30 p.m. luncheon, a dinner will also be given the returning couple at 6:30 p.m.

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Herbert Aptheker

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6:45—Politics and Parties in 1960
Esther Cantor
8:30—People's Movements in N.Y.
Evelyn Weiner
8:30—Women in the 2 Worlds of Today
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

WEDNESDAYS (Mar. 2, Mar. 9, Mar. 16)
6:45—Economics of War & Peace
Hyman Lumer
8:30—Law & Life in USSR Today
Leon Josephson
8:30—Two World Systems: A Comparison
Victor Perlo

THURSDAYS (Mar. 3, Mar. 10, Mar. 17)
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- - - - - -
Fri., Feb. 26, at 7 p.m.*
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Editor, "Political Affairs,"
on **"Negro History— Its Lessons for Today"**
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CONRAD J. LYNN, noted Negro attorney of Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, speaks on "Civil Rights Today," Fri., Feb. 19, 9 p.m., at Brighton Community Center, 3200 Coney Island Av., Bklyn. Ausp: Shore Front Fraternal Club.

WRITING OUT LOUD
N.Y. Intercultural Society presents new works—stories, poems, etc., read by the authors. Discussion from the audience. Benjamin A. Brown, Chmn. Sunday, Feb. 21, 8 p.m.—111 W. 48th St. (Top Floor) Social follows. Cont: $1.

How does **WORKERS WORLD** differ from all other tendencies in the labor movement? "World Peace and Socialist Revolution" (Socialism through peace; or peace through socialism?)
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New York Intercultural Society
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BEHIND THE SWASTIKAS
An analysis of anti-Semitism and fascism. — Speaker: **JIM LAMBRECHT, YOUNG SOCIALIST** Editorial Board member. Fri., Feb. 19, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Pl. Ausp: Young Soc. Alliance.

FORUM "Anti-Semitism, W. Germany & The Cold War." Speaker: Will Weinstone. **Place:** Central Plaza Annex, 40 E. 7th St. Sun., **Feb. 28,** 2:30 p.m. Cont. 25c. Sponsor: Manhattan Youth Club, Communist Party.

"Struggle for Negro Freedom: From Yesterday to Tomorrow"
JAMES JACKSON, editor-in-chief Worker; **EVELYN WIENER,** Manhattan Chairman C.P. Central Plaza Annex, E. 7 St. & 2nd Av. Wed., Feb. 24, 8:15 p.m. Adm: Free. Negro History Exhibit. Sponsor: Eastside Worker Forum.

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PUBLICATIONS

JEWISH CURRENTS, — Feb. issue off press. Special Negro History Week-Jewish Music Month issue. Also featured: Morris U. Schappes on "Cold War Swastika Plague." Subscriptions: $4 yearly (4.50 outside USA). Single copies 45c. Jewish Currents, 22 E. 17th St., NYC 3.

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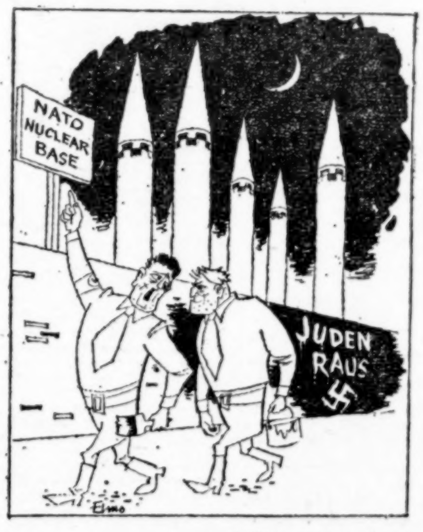
THE GALLERY

THINGS SEEM to be rough in Britain, with the Empire lost and all. Sandhurst, Britain's West Point, has taken to advertising for cadets. An ad in the London **Observer** described the graduation ceremony: "For the cadet himself, for his parents looking on, and for the staff of Sandhurst, it is a unique moment of pride. As they leave the parade the cadets are followed by the Adjutant, riding his grey charger up the steps and through the archway. This detail of ceremony significantly expresses the Academy's continued interest in the outgoing young officer." Interested young men are asked to write to Major Gen. G. Peddie, The War Office, London . . . Cadets should be warned that opportunities for overseas assignments are dwindling. The Colonial Office, advertising in the London **Daily Telegraph** for information officers to serve in East Africa, pointed out that "the appointments are temporary." . . . English secretaries seem to have a better future. Two employment agencies, Manpower, Ltd. and Overseas Placements Bureau, report a thriving business in sending young English ladies here. American businessmen, they say, consider it chic to have an English secretary . . . From the London **Daily Telegraph,** Feb. 1: "Everyone associated with horses will be sorry to hear that Col. Frank Weldon, the international rider, has suffered a most disagreeable mishap. He has lost the top of an index finger and thumb in a circular saw. I am told he is now making a good recovery but it is an awkward accident for a first-class rider." Now, if he had been second-class . . .

ORSON WELLES began an article in the London **Daily Express** last month: "All my life I've wanted to play Shylock and all my life a man called Hitler made it impossible." Welles' story was an explanation of why he had canceled a London production of Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice." He said that the swastikas reappearing on German walls made it impossible for him to play Shylock, although his desire to interpret Shakespeare's Jew was almost an obsession. Welles added: "We learn that the Nazi is not, after all, an extinct monster. He has started to creep out at night. So far he's armed only with a paint brush. He's trying once again to make 'Jew' a dirty word . . . Until all the church walls are clean — and safely clean, too—I think Shylock . . . should be kept on the bookshelves. He'll be safe there until a safer epoch." . . . A New York jeweler advises ex-servicemen: "Don't let your Purple Heart waste away in a draw (sic). I'll transform it into a beautiful necklace that your loved one will cherish and wear proudly."



London Daily Tribune
"Thank goodness they're here to defend our freedom."

DR. JOHN R. LECHNER, district Americanism chairman of the American Legion, asked California's Gov. Pat Brown for an immediate investigation of why this question is included in an examination for UCLA freshmen: "What are the dangers to a democracy of a national police organization, like the FBI, which operates secretly and is unresponsive to public criticism." Lechner said: "It is a Communist scheme to impart party ideas to our young people." . . . More to the Legion's liking is the New York high school regents examination in World History. It asks high school seniors to explain how each of the following "has made an important contribution to the ideals or values of mankind." The list included Gandhi, Saint Francis of Assisi, Joan of Arc, Roger Williams, Thomas Jefferson, Emile Zola, Woodrow Wilson, Albert Schweitzer and Boris Pasternak . . . Of the American consumer, James A. Farley told a meeting of the Natl. Licensed Beverage Assn.: "No person in the history of man has wider choice of quality and variety of product. When communism can duplicate that array on the counters of Moscow, it will begin to achieve the respect of man." He added: "Scientifically, the completion of a sale is a distinguishing mark between man and the beasts . . . A sale is the single most important ceremony by which man fulfills his needs. And it is also the index of his civic morality, as the bloodstream is to his bodily health."

—**Robert E. Light**

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MC 2002 BACH Piano Concerto No. 1 in D Minor Richter, piano; State Orch. of the U.S.S.R., Sanderling, cond; **PROKOFIEFF Violin Concerto No. 2 in G Minor. Op. 63** Kogan, violin; State Orch. of the USSR, Kondrashin, cond.

MC 2003 DAVID OISTRAKH RECITAL. SZYMANOWSKI The Fountain of Arethusa; DE FALLA Spanish Dance; SCRIABIN Nocturne; PROKOFIEFF Love of Three Oranges: March; ALBENIZ Song of Love; WAGNER Album Leaf; SAINT-SAENS Etude; SUK Song of Love; ZARZYCKI Mazurka; MEDTNER Nocturne; KODALY 3 Hungarian Dances. V. Yampolsky, piano.

MC 2004 RACHMANINOFF Piano Concerto No. 1 in F Sharp Minor, Op. 1 Richter, piano; State Radio Orch., Sanderling, cond; **SAINT-SAENS Piano Concerto No. 5 in F Major, Op. 103, Egyptian,** Richter, piano; Moscow Youth Symphony Orch.. Kondrashin, cond.

MC 2005 BACH SONATA in C Major for Two Violins and Piano David & Igor Oistrakh, violins; Yampolsky, piano; **MOZART Sonata in B Flat Major for Violin and Piano, K. 454** Oistrakh, violin; Yampolsky, piano; **BEETHOVEN Trio No. 9 in E Flat Major** Gilels, piano; Kogan, violin; Rostropovitch, cello.

MC 2006 MOZART Concerto No. 10 in E Flat Major for Two Pianos and Orchestra, K. 365 Gilels & Zak, pianos; State Orch of the U.S.S.R., Kondrashin, cond.; **SAINT-SAENS Carnival of the Animals** Gilels & Zak, pianos; State Orch of the USSR, Eliasburg, cond.

MC 2007 KABALEVSKY Symphony No. 4 Leningrad Philharmonic Orch., Kabalevsky, cond.; **PROKOFIEFF The Volga Meets the Don, Op. 130** Moscow Philharmonic Orch., Samosud, cond.

MC 2009 BACH Concerto in D Minor for Two Violins and Orchestra, David and Igor Oistrakh, violins; Chamber Orch., Barshai, cond. **SARASATE Navarra for Two Violins and Piano,** David and Igor Oistrakh, violins; Yampolsky, piano; **BACH Sonata No. 6 in G Major for Violin and Piano; HINDEMITH Sonata No. 1 for Violin and Piano, Op. 11.** Oistrakh, violin; Yampolsky, piano.

MC 2010 BEETHOVEN Trio No. 7 in B Flat Major, Op. 97, Archduke Gilels, piano; Kogan, violin; Rostropovich, cello.

Beethoven
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MC 2011 BEETHOVEN Sonata No. 7 in C Minor, Op. 30, No. 2 Kogan, violin; Mitnik, piano; **MOZART Sonata in F Major, K. 376** Kogan, violin; Ginsburg, piano.

MC 2012 RACHMANINOFF Piano Concerto No. 3 in D Minor, Op. 30 Merzhanov, piano; State Orch. of the USSR, Anosov, cond; **LISZT Three Grand Etudes After Paganini (Nos. 3 La Campanella, 4, 5)** Merzhanov, piano.

MC 2013 BRAHMS Variations on a Theme of Paganini, Op. 35; SCRIABIN Sonata No. 5, Op. 53; Four Etudes (Op. 8, Nos. 5, 10, 12; Op. 42, No. 5) Merzhanov, piano.

MC 2014 SHOSTAKOVICH Violin Concerto, Op. 99 Oistrakh, violin; Leningrad Orch., Mravinsky, cond.

MC 2015 SHOSTAKOVICH Symphony No. 9, Op. 70; A Festive Overture, Op. 96; Memorable Year 1919, Op. 89, State Radio Orch. of the USSR, Gauk, cond.

MC 2016 MUSSORGSKY Highlights from Boris Godunov; RACHMANINOFF Cavatina of Aleko from Aleko Mark Reizen, bass; Chorus & Orch. of the Bolshoi Theater.

MC 2018 VIVALDI Violin Concerto in G Minor; RAMEAU Concerto No. 6 in G Minor; HANDOSHKIN Viola Concerto Kogan, violin; Barshai, viola; Moscow Chamber Orch., Barshai, cond.

M 2019 TCHAIKOVSKY Souvenir of Florence, Op. 70 Kogan, Elizaveta Gilels, violins; Barshai, Talalian, violas; Knushevitsky, Rostropovich, cellos **HANDOSHKIN Variations on a Russian Folk Theme** Kogan, violin; Rostropovich, cello.

MC 2020 SHOSTAKOVICH From Jewish Folk Poetry, Op. 79 Dolukhanova, mezzo-soprano; Dorlyak, soprano; Maslenikov, tenor; Shostakovich, piano; **MUSSORGSKY The Nursery** Dorlyak, soprano; Richter, piano; **KABALEVSKY Three Shakespeare Sonnets** Reizen, bass; Kabalevsky, piano.

MC 2021 PROKOFIEFF Cello Sonata, Op. 119 Rostropovich, cello; Richter, piano; **SHOSTAKOVICH Cello Sonata, Op. 40** Rostropovich, cello; Shostakovich, piano.

MC 2022 SCHUMANN Humoresque, Op. 20; FRANCK Prelude, Chorale and Fugue Richter, piano.

MC 2023 SCHUMANN Cello Concerto in A Minor, Op. 129 Rostropovich, cello; Moscow Philharmonic Orch., Samosud, cond.; **Concerto for Four Horns in F Major, Op. 86** State Radio Orch.; Gauk cond.

MC 2025 KHACHATURIAN Spartacus Ballet Music State Radio Orch., Gauk, cond.

MC 2026 SCHUMANN Piano Concerto in A Minor, Op. 54 Richter, piano; State Radio Orch., Gauk, cond.; **Fantasieestucke, Op. 12 (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8)** Richter, piano.

MC 2027 SCHUBERT Sonata in A Minor for Piano, Op. 42; Impromptus Op. 90, No. 2 and Op. 142, No. 2 Richter, piano.

MC 2028 IGOR BEZRODNY: Violin Encores. GERSHWIN Three Preludes; BLOCH Nigun; TRIGGS Danza Braziliana; KREISLER Gypsy Caprice; FUCHS Jota; DEBUSSY En Bateau; GLIERE Romance; PROKOFIEFF Peter and the Wolf: Theme & Processional; ELGAR Farewell; VILLA-LOBOS Song of the Black Swan; MOMPOU Jeunes Filles au Jardin; RESPIGHI Berceuse. A. Makarov, piano.

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MC 2032 BEETHOVEN Piano Concerto No. 4 in G, Op. 58 Gilels, piano; Leningrad Philharmonic Orch., Sanderling, cond.; **SCARLATTI Sonata in A Major (L. 395); Sonata in D Minor (L. 421)** Gilels, piano.

MC 2033 BEETHOVEN Piano Concerto No. 5 in E Flat Major, Op. 73, "Emperor" Gilels, piano; Leningrad Philharmonic Orch.. Sanderling, cond.

MC 2034 TCHAIKOVSKY Sonata in G Major, Op. 37, "Grand Sonata"; PROKOFIEFF Sonata No. 9 in C Major, Op. 103 Richter, piano.

MC 2035 THE VIRTUOSO STRINGS OF THE BOLSHOI THEATRE ORCHESTRA KHACHATURIAN Sabre Dance; GLAZOUNOV Entracte from Raymonda; PROKOFIEFF Waltz from War and Peace; March from Peter and the Wolf; VLADIGEROV Song; PAGANINI Perpetual Motion; RIMSKY-KORSAKOV Flight of the Bumble Bee; DVORAK Songs My Mother Taught Me; HRISTIC Two Dances from Legend of Ohrid; RAVEL: Pavane Pour Une Infante Defunte; Egyptian Dance, Yuli Reentovich, cond.

MC 2036 FRANCK Piano Quintet in F Minor, Quartet of the Bolshoi Theatre Orchestra; Richter, piano.

MC 2037 BACH Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 in G Major; Brandenburg Concerto No. 4 in G Major; Suite No. 2 in B Minor for Flute and Strings. D. Oistrakh, violin; A. Korneyev and N. Zeidel, flutes; Moscow Chamber Orch., Barshai, cond.

MC 2038 MIASKOVSKY Symphony No. 19 for Band Moscow Military Band, Petrov, cond.; **BALAKIREV Islamey Oriental Fantasy)** State Radio Orch., Gauk, cond.; **MUSSORGSKY Introduction and BOLSHOI THEATER IN RUSSIAN OPERATIC ARIAS—Lisitsian** (from Nero), **Vishnevskaya** (Snowmaiden), **Firsova** (Francesca Da Rimini), **Petrov** (The Decembrists), **Kozlovsky and Kleshcheva** (Duets from Eugene Onegin), **Masnikova** (Khovanschina), **Reizen** (Ivan Susanin).

Gopak from "The Fair of Sorochinsk" Bolshoi Theatre Orch., Nebolsin, cond.; **PAKHMUTOVA Youth Overture** State Radio Orch., Beloussov, cond.; **KNIPPER Youth Overture** State Radio Orch., Gauk, cond.

MC 2039 DEBUSSY Children's Corner Suite; SCHUMANN Scenes from Childhood Zak, piano; **KABALEVSKY Children's Pieces** Kabalevsky, piano.

MC 2040 PROKOFIEFF Sinfonia Con-

MC **2046 FAMOUS SOLOISTS OF THE certante, Op. 125 for Cello & Orch.** Rostropovich, cello; Leningrad Philharmonic Orch., Sanderling, cond.; **SHOSTAKOVICH Concertino for Two Pianos Maxim** & Dmitri Shostakovich, pianists.

MC 2042 PROKOFIEFF Visions Fugitives H. Neuhaus, piano; **10 Pieces from Romeo and Juliet** Serebriakov, piano.

MC 2043 SCHUBERT Sonata in D Major for Piano, Op. 53. Richter, piano.

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NEWSPAPER

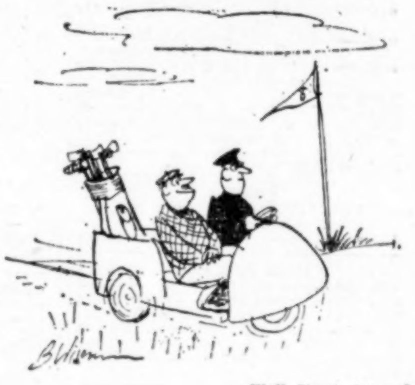
the SPECTATOR

LONDON

KENNETH TYNAN is a non-conforming Englishman who writes for the London **Observer** and has been in the United States for the last year as drama critic for the **New Yorker** magazine. Impressed by the conformity which he found in American life, he went on a hunt for non-conformity and found enough of it to shoot 12 hours of film to prove that dissent does exist in America.

TV producer Robert Heller, an American living in London, cut the 12 hours to 90 minutes and the program was presented over British TV last month with the title: "We Dissent." Many British found it unduly long and wondered why we looked at the mote in U.S. eyes rather than our own beam. But although a few newspapers carped at the somewhat talky presentation, most thought it salutary to show the objections to conformity that do exist in America.

A number of long-time dissenters spoke, of many shades of opinion and degrees of action: from Dalton Trumbo to Norman Thomas and Norman Cousins, editor of the **Saturday Review**; Norman Mailer, patron saint of hipsterism (are you "far out" enough to know that a hip is "a man who has divorced himself from history, a psychopath"?); bearded bohemian resenters and beat poets from San Francisco (Ginsberg, Ferlinghetti and Orlovsky), and a trio of excellent humorists who were among the most outspoken and definite in their criticism—Jules Feiffer, artist and writer; Mort Sahl, satirist-comedian, and Alexander King, raconteur. Tynan also had the courage to include Alger Hiss.



Wall Street Journal

THE SPEAKERS SAID SOME trenchant things: "Everyone behaves as if he were engaged in a gigantic swindle that might be exposed any moment" (King); "The dissenter's target should be everybody's apathy" (Feiffer); "It is necessary to embrace some form of poverty to wipe the dirt off our face" (a beatnik). Feiffer spoke of "label-happy U.S. thinking." Mailer found his society "oppressive." Thomas found "no distinguished or imaginative leadership in American government." Hiss found "a fear, a sort of nameless fear of the unknown and of unexpected things." He joined that to "a tendency to conform in education."

Sociologist C. Wright Mills touched on "the problem of apathy, of political indifference . . . Americans neither accept nor reject." Harvard economist Kenneth Galbraith criticized the contrast between the opulence of American private consumption and the poverty of public services. Trumbo said: "Call a Republican a communist and he will laugh at you; call a Democrat a communist and he will pale; call a liberal a communist and he will faint dead away."

YET PROVOCATIVE as the program was, one had the feeling that something was missing. Trumbo came closest to noting the gap when he said he felt "the cold war had paralyzed normal action." Still, one had to ask: What is it that we object to in conforming America?

They resent, they resist, they dissent, they criticize; they are contemptuous, sad or rebellious, or they find the whole setup oppressive. But do they do more than resist what is?

Do any of them—with a few honorable exceptions—say or intimate that something is wrong within the state of Denmark and we must change it? We don't like this society: Is there some other kind; could we envision another kind? Not the mad rush for money, the corruption, the greed, the rat-race—but some other idea to live and work for?

IN A POSTSCRIPT to the TV show, Norman Cousins, a leader in the fight in America to ban A-Bomb tests, was highly critical of the show and asked for the right to organize a "What's Right With America" program. He said:

"My remarks dealt with the danger of the global arms race and were not intended as a particular slap at this country. I would never have participated if I had known [they] were to be used in such a production. The right to dissent is an important freedom and any individual has the right to express his views.

"That's one thing, but it's entirely different when a group of such individuals are brought together in a 'Let's Hate America Week' sort of thing."

Actually, there was far more respect among British viewers for the self-criticism of the Americans than there was "hate." But, as the London Sunday **Times** critic put it in summing up the show: "In Britain in the sphere of dissent we are way ahead. We recognize that dissent is not an end-product in isolation (which is boring and sterile). We use dissent creatively."

Thus one asks finally: Why doesn't a Norman Mailer propose thought and action rather than marijuana?

—Televiticus